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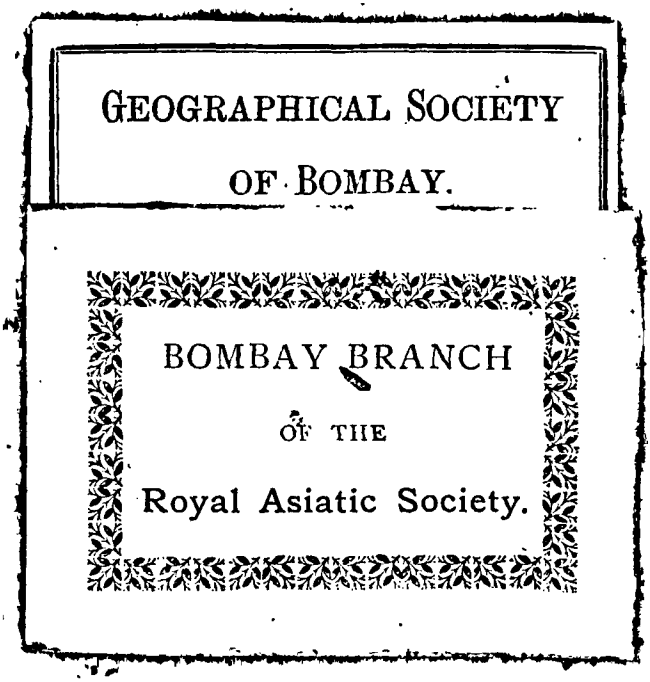

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HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM THE GREEK,

WITH NOTES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

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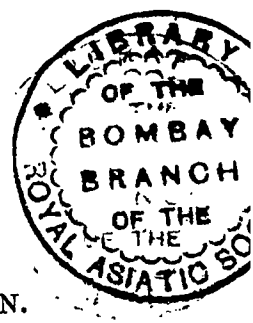
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.



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HERODOTUS.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE

CONTINUED.

CHAP. XCIX.

THAT part of Thrace[106] which stretches to the sea, has Scythia immediately contiguous to it; where Thrace ends, Scythia begins, through which the Ister passes, commencing at the south-east, and emptying itself into the Euxine. It shall be my business to describe that part of Scythia which is continued from the mouth of the Ister to the sea-coast. Ancient Scythia extends

106 *That part of Thrace.*]—This chapter will, doubtless, appear perplexed on a first and casual view: but whoever will be at the trouble to examine M. D'Anville's excellent maps, illustrative of ancient geography, will in a moment find every difficulty respecting the situation of the places here described effectually removed.—*T.*

from the Ister, westward, as far as the city Carcinitis. The mountainous country above this place, in the same direction, as far as what is called the Trachean Chersonese, is possessed by the people of Taurus; this place is situated near the sea to the east. Scythia, like Attica, is in two parts bounded by the sea, westward and to the east. The people of Taurus are circumstanced with respect to Scythia, as any other nation would be with respect to Attica, who, instead of Athenians, should inhabit the Sunian promontory, stretching from the district of Thonicus, as far as Anaphlystus. Such, comparing small things with great, is the district of Tauris: but as there may be some who have not visited these parts of Attica, I shall endeavour to explain myself more intelligibly. Suppose, that beginning at the port of Brundusium [107], another nation, and not the Iapyges [108], should occupy that country, as far as

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107 *Brundusium.*]—This place, which is now called Brindisi, was very memorable in the annals of ancient Rome: here Augustus first took the name of Cæsar, here the poet Pacuvius was born, and here Virgil died:—It belongs to the king of Naples; and it is the opinion of modern travellers, that the kingdom of Naples possesses no place so advantageously situated for trade.—*T.*

108 *Iapyges.*]—The region of Iapygia has been at different times called Messapia, Calabria, and Salentum: it is now called Terra d'Otranto: it derived its name of Iapyges from the wind called Iapyx:

Sed

Tarentum, separating it from the rest of the continent: I mention these two, but there are many other places similarly situated, to which Tauris might be compared.

C. The country above Tauris, as well as that towards the sea to the east [109], is inhabited by Scythians, who possess also the lands which lie to the west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the

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Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
Peccet Iapyx.

Where I suppose the Albus, contrasted to Ater, means that this wind surprized the unwary mariner, during a very severe sky.

Others are of opinion, that the Iapyges were so named from Iapyx, the son of Dædalus; and that the wind was named Iapyx, from blowing in the direction of that extremity of Italy; which is indeed more conformable to the analogy of the Latin names for several other winds.

[109] *To the east.*]—This description of Scythia is attended with great difficulties; it is not, in the first place, easy to seize the true meaning of Herodotus; in the second, I cannot believe that the description here given accords correctly with the true position of the places. I am, nevertheless, astonished that it should be generally faithful, when it is considered how scanty the knowledge of this country was: the historian must have laboured with remarkable diligence to have told us what he has. By the phrase of "the sea to the east," Bellanger understands the Palus Mæotis; but I am convinced that when he describes the sea which is to the south, and to the west, he means only to speak of different points of the Euxine.—*Larcher.*

Palus Mæotis, as far as the Tanaïs, which empties itself into this lake; so that as you advance from the Ister inland, Scythia is terminated first by the Agathyrsi, then by the Neuri, thirdly by the Androphagi, and last of all, by the Melanchlæni *.

CI. Scythia thus appears to be of a quadrangular form, having two of its sides terminated by the sea, to which its other two towards the land are perfectly equal: from the Ister to the Borysthenes is a ten days journey, which is also the distance from the Borysthenes to the Palus Mæotis. Ascending from the sea inland, as far as the country of the Melanchlæni, beyond Scythia, is a journey of twenty days: according to my computation, a day's journey is equal to two hundred stadia [110]: thus the extent of Scythia, along

* Scythia may be supposed to have extended northward to the river Dresna, and its eastern branch the Sem, on the east of the Borysthenes, and to Polish Russia on the west of that river: wherefore Wolynia, the proper Ukraine, the countries of Belgerod, &c. must have formed the northern frontier of Scythia, on which side it was bounded by the tribe of Androphagi on the side of Poland, and by the Melanchlæni on the side of Russia, as on the N. W. by the Neuri, and on the west by the Agathyrsi.—*Rennell*, p. 61.

110 *Two hundred stadia.*]—Authors do not agree with each other, nor indeed with themselves, about the length of the day's journey; Herodotus here gives two hundred stadia to

its sides, is four thousand stadia; and through the midst of it inland, is four thousand more.

CII. The Scythians, conferring with one another, conceived that of themselves they were unable to repel the forces of Darius; they therefore made application to their neighbours. The princes

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a day's journey; but in the fifth book he gives no more than one hundred and fifty.—It is probable that the two hundred stadia are the ordinary journey of a traveller, and the one hundred and fifty stadia the march of an army. The army of Xenophon ordinarily marched five parasangs, which he states to be equal to one hundred and fifty stadia.

Strabo and Pliny make the length of the Arabian Gulph a thousand stadia, which the first of these authors says will take up a voyage of three or four days: what Livy calls a day's journey, Polybius describes as two hundred stadia. The Roman lawyers assigned to each day twenty miles, that is to say, one hundred and sixty stadia.—See *Casaubon on Strabo*, page 61 of the Amsterdam edition, page 23 of that of Paris.

The evangelist Luke tells us, that Joseph and Mary went a day's journey before they sought the child Jesus; now Maundrel, page 64, informs us that, according to tradition, this happened at Beer, which was no more than ten miles from Jerusalem; according, therefore, to this estimation, a day's journey was no more than eighty stadia. When we recollect that the day has different acceptations, and has been divided into the natural day, the artificial day, the civil day, the astronomical day, &c. we shall the less wonder at any apparent want of exactness in the computations of space passed over in a portion of time by no means determinate.—*T.*

also to whom they applied, held a consultation concerning the powerful army of the invader; at this meeting were assembled the princes of the Agathyrsi, Tauri, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ.

CIII. Of these nations, the Tauri are distinguished by these peculiar customs[111]: All strangers shipwrecked on their coast, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they sacrifice to a virgin, in the following manner: after the ceremonies of prayer, they strike the victim on the head with a club. Some affirm, that, having fixed the head upon a cross, they precipitate the body from the rock, on the craggy part of which the temple stands: others again, allowing that the head is thus exposed, deny that the body is so treated, but say that it is buried. The sacred personage to whom this sacrifice is offered, the Taurians themselves assert to be Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. The manner in which they treat their captives is this:

111 *Peculiar customs.*]—These customs, as far as they relate to the religious ceremonies described in the subsequent paragraphs of this chapter, must have been rendered by the Iphigenia of Euripides, and other writers, too familiar to require any minute discussion. The story of Iphigenia also, in all its particulars, with the singular resemblance which it bears to the account of the daughter of Jephtha in the sacred Scriptures, must be equally well known.—*T.*

—Every man cuts off the head of his prisoner, and carries it to his house; this he fixes on a stake, which is placed generally at the top of the chimney: thus situated, they affect to consider it as the protector of their families. Their whole subsistence is procured by acts of plunder and hostility.

CIV. The Agathyrsi[112] are a people of very effeminate manners, but abounding in gold; they have their women in common, so that, being all connected by the ties of consanguinity, they know nothing of envy or of hatred: in other respects they resemble the Thracians.

CV. The Neuri observe the Scythian customs. In the age preceding this invasion of Darius, they were compelled to change their habitations, from the multitude of serpents which infested them: besides what their own soil produced, these came

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[112] *Agathyrsi.*]—The country inhabited by this people is now called Vologhda, in Muscovy: the Agathyrsi were by Juvenal called cruel;

Sauromatæque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi.

Virgil calls them the painted Agathyrsi:

Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi.

They are said to have received the name of Agathyrsi from Agathyrsus, a son of Hercules.—*T.*

in far greater numbers from the deserts above them; till they were at length compelled to take refuge with the Budini; these people have the character of being magicians *. It is asserted by the Scythians, as well as by those Greeks who dwell in Scythia, that once in every year they are all of them changed into wolves [113]; and that after remaining so for the space of a few days, they resume their former shape; but this I do not believe, although they swear that it is true.

CVI. The Androphagi are, perhaps, of all mankind, the rudest: they have no forms of law or justice, their employment is feeding of cattle; and though their dress is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themselves.

CVII. The Melanchlæni [114] have all black

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* They were probably, says Rennell, an ingenious people, and exceeded their neighbours in arts as well as in hospitality. p. 93.

113 *Into wolves.*]—Pomponius Mela mentions the same fact, as I have observed in Vol. II. p. 369. It has been supposed by some, that this idea might arise from the circumstance of these people clothing themselves in the skins of wolves during the colder months of winter; but this is rejected by Larcher, without giving any better hypothesis to solve the fable.—*T.*

114 *Melanchlæni.*]—

Melanchlænis atra vestis: & ex eâ nomen.—

Pomp. Mela.

garments; from whence they derive their name: these are the only people known to feed on human flesh [115]; their manners are those of Scythia.

CVIII. The Budini [116] are a great and numerous people; their bodies are painted of a blue and red colour; they have in their country a town called Gelonus, built entirely of wood. Its walls are of a surprising height: they are on each side three hundred stadia in length; the houses and the temples are all of wood. They have temples built in the Grecian manner to Grecian deities, with the statues, altars, and shrines of wood. Every three years [117] they have a festival in honour of Bacchus. The Geloni are of

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115. *Human flesh.*]—M. Larcher very naturally thinks this a passage transposed from the preceding chapter, as indeed the word Androphagi literally means eaters of human flesh.

116 *Budini.*]—The district possessed by this people is now called Podolia: Pliny supposes them to have been so called from using waggons drawn by oxen.—*T.*

The country of the Budini has been taken for that of Woroner and its neighbourhood, as well from description as position; it being, like the other, full of forests.—*Rennell*, p. 93.

117 *Every three years.*]—This feast, celebrated in honour of Bacchus, was named the Trieterica, to which there are frequent allusions in the ancient authors—See Statius:

——— Non hæc Trieterica vobis
Nox patrio de more venit.

From which we may presume that this was kept up throughout the night.

Grecian origin; but being expelled from the commercial towns, they established themselves amongst the Budini. Their language is a mixture of Greek and Scythian.

CIX. The Budini are distinguished equally in their language and manner of life from the Geloni: they are the original natives of the country, feeders of cattle, and the only people of the country who eat vermin. The Geloni[118], on the contrary, pay attention to agriculture, live on corn, cultivate gardens, and resemble the Budini neither in appearance nor complexion. The Greeks however are apt, though erroneously, to confound them both under the name of Geloni. Their country is covered with trees of every species: where these are the thickest, there is a large and spacious lake with a marsh surrounded with reeds. In this lake are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals, who have square snouts: of these, the skins are used to border the garment[119]; and their testicles are esteemed useful in hysteric diseases.

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118 *Geloni.*]—These people are called Picti by Virgil:

Pictosque Gelonos. *Georg.* ii. 115.

And by Lucan, fortes:

Massagetes quo fugit equo fortesque Gelonos.—L. iii, 283.

119 *Border the garment.*]—It is perhaps not unworthy remark, that throughout the sacred Scriptures we find no men-

CX. Of the Sauromatæ[120] we have this account. In a contest which the Greeks had with

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tion made of furs; and this is the more extraordinary, as in Syria and Ægypt, according to the accounts of modern travellers, garments lined and bordered with costly furs are the dresses of honour and of ceremony. Purple and fine linen are what we often read of in Scripture; but never of fur.—*T.*

120 *Sauromatæ.*]—This people were also called Sarmatæ or Sarmatians. It may perhaps tend to excite some novel and interesting ideas in the mind of the English reader, when he is informed, that among a people rude and uncivilized as these Sarmatians are here described, the tender and effeminate Ovid was compelled to consume a long and melancholy exile. It was on the banks of the Danube that he wrote those nine books of epistles, which are certainly not the least valuable of his works. The following lines are eminently harmonious and pathetic:

At puto cum requies medicinaque publica curæ
Somnus adest, solitis nox venit orba malis,
Somnia me terrent veros imitantia casus,
Et vigilant sensus in mea damna mei;
Aut ego Sarmaticas videor vitare sagittas,
Aut dare captivas ad fera vincla manus:
Aut ubi decipior melioris imagine somni,
Aspicio patriæ tecta relicta meæ,
Et modò vobiscum quos sum veneratus amici,
Et modò cum carâ conjuge multa loquor. *T.*

Herodotus relates the origin of this people in this and the subsequent chapters. The account of Diodorus Siculus differs materially: the Scythians, says this author, having subdued part of Asia, drove several colonies out of the country, and amongst them one of the Medes; this, advancing towards the Tanaïs, formed the nation of the Sauromatæ.—*Larcher.*

the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Oiorpata [121], or, as it may be interpreted, men-slayers (for Oeor signifies a man, and pata to kill), they obtained a victory over them at Thermodon. On their return, as many Amazons [122] as they were

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121 *Oiorpata.*]—This etymology is founded upon a notion that the Amazons were a community of women who killed every man with whom they had any commerce, and yet subsisted as a people for ages. This title was given them from their worship; for Oiorpata, or, as some manuscripts have it, Aorpata, is the same as Patah-Or, the priest of Orus, or, in a more lax sense, the votaries of that god. They were Ανδροκτονοι, for they sacrificed all strangers whom fortune brought upon their coast: so that the whole Euxine sea, upon which they lived, was rendered infamous from their cruelty.—*Bryant.*

122 *Amazons.*]—The more striking peculiarities relating to this fancied community of women, are doubtless familiar to the most common reader. The subject, considered in a scientific point of view, is admirably discussed by Bryant. His chapter on the Amazons is too long to transcribe, and it would be injurious to mutilate it. "Among barbarous nations," says Mr. Gibbon, "women have often combated by the side of their husbands; but it is *almost* impossible that a society of Amazons should ever have existed in the old or new world."—*T.*

Since the story of the Amazons in the way it is commonly told is so justly exploded in these times, one is surprised how it came to be so universally believed, as that most of the writers of antiquity should speak of it as a fact. Nay, even Herodotus has gone so far (Calliope, c. 27) as to make the Athenians say that the Amazons had advanced from the river Thermodon, to attack Attica. That a community of

able to take captive, they distributed in three vessels: these, when they were out at sea, rose against their conquerors, and put them all to death. But as they were totally ignorant of navigation, and knew nothing at all of the management either of helms, sails, or oars, they were obliged to resign themselves to the wind and the tide, which carried them to Cremnes*, near the Palus Mæotis, a place inhabited by the free Scythians. The Amazons here disembarked, and advanced towards the part which was inhabited, and meeting with a stud of horses in their route, they immediately seized them, and, mounted on these, proceeded to plunder the Scythians.

CXI. The Scythians were unable to explain what had happened, being neither acquainted with the language, the dress, nor the country of

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women existed for a short time, is not improbable, since accidents may have deprived them of their husbands: but were there not in that, as in every community, males growing up towards maturity?

Justin l. ii. c. 4, describes the origin of the Amazons to be this. A colony of exiled Scythians established themselves on the coast of the Euxine sea, in Cappadocia, near the river Thermodon, and being exceedingly troublesome to their neighbours, the men were all massacred. This accounts very rationally for the existence of a community of women: but who can believe that it continued?—*Rennell*, p. 92.

* This is probably the same place as Chemni, mentioned in c. 20.

the invaders. Under the impression that they were a body of men nearly of the same age, they offered them battle. The result was, that, having taken some as prisoners, they at last discovered them to be women. After a consultation among themselves, they determined not to put any of them to death, but to select a detachment of their youngest men, equal in number, as they might conjecture, to the Amazons. They were directed to encamp opposite to them, and by their adversaries' motions to regulate their own: if they were attacked, they were to retreat without making resistance; when the pursuit should be discontinued, they were to return, and again encamp as near the Amazons as possible. The Scythians took these measures, with the view of having children by these invaders.

CXII. The young men did as they were ordered. The Amazons, seeing that no injury was offered them, desisted from hostilities. The two camps imperceptibly approached each other. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses; and both obtained their subsistence from the chace.

CXIII. It was the custom of the Amazons, about noon, to retire from the rest, either alone or two in company, to ease nature. The Scy-

thians discovered this, and did likewise. One of the young men met with an Amazon, who had wandered alone from her companions, and who, instead of rejecting his caresses, suffered him to enjoy her person. They were not able to converse with each other, but she intimated by signs, that if on the following day he would come to the same place, and bring with him a companion, she would bring another female to meet him. The young man returned, and told what had happened: he was punctual to his engagement, and the next day went with a friend to the place, where he found the two Amazons waiting to receive them.

CXIV. This adventure was communicated to the Scythians, who soon conciliated the rest of the women. The two camps were presently united, and each considered her as his wife to whom he had first attached himself. As they were not able to learn the dialect of the Amazons, they taught them theirs; which having accomplished, the husbands thus addressed their wives: —"We have relations and property, let us "therefore change this mode of life; let us go "hence, and communicate with the rest of our "countrymen, where you and you only shall be "our wives." To this, the Amazons thus replied: "We cannot associate with your females, "whose manners are so different from our own;

" we are expert in the use of the javelin and the
" bow, and accustomed to ride on horseback,
" but we are ignorant of all feminine employ-
" ments: your women are very differently ac-
" complished; instructed in female arts, they
" pass their time in their waggons[123], and de-
" spise the chace, with all similar exercises; we
" cannot therefore live with them. If you really
" desire to retain us as your wives, and to be-
" have yourselves honestly towards us, return to
" your parents, dispose of your property, and
" afterwards come back to us, and we will live
" together, at a distance from your other con-
" nections."

CXV. The young men approved of their advice; they accordingly took their share of the property which belonged to them, and returned to the Amazons, by whom they were thus addressed: " Our residence here occasions us much
" terror and uneasiness: we have not only de-
" prived you of your parents, but have greatly
" wasted your country. As you think us worthy
" of being your wives, let us leave this place, and
" dwell beyond the Tanaïs."

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[123] *In their waggons.*]—These waggons served them instead of houses. Every one knows that in Greece the women went out but seldom; but I much fear that Herodotus attributes to the Scythian women the manners of those of Greece.—*Larcher.*

CXVI. With this also the young Scythians complied, and having passed the Tanaïs, they marched forwards a three days journey towards the east, and three more from the Palus Mæotis towards the north: Here they fixed themselves, and now remain. The women of the Sauromatæ* still retain their former habits of life; they pursue the chace on horseback, sometimes with and sometimes without their husbands, and, dressed in the habits of the men, frequently engage in battle.

CXVII. The Sauromatæ use the Scythian language, but their dialect has always been impure, because the Amazons themselves had learned it but imperfectly. With respect to their institutions concerning marriage, no virgin is permitted to marry till she shall first have killed an enemy[124]. It sometimes therefore hap-

* It may be observed that these Sauromatæ of the Greeks were the Samnites of the Romans.

[124] *Killed an enemy.*] —The account which Hippocrates gives is somewhat different: the women of the Sauromatæ mount on horseback, draw the bow, lance the javelin from on horseback, and go to war as long as they remain unmarried: they are not suffered to marry till they have killed three enemies; nor do they cohabit with their husbands till they have performed the ceremonies which their laws require. Their married women do not go on horseback, unless indeed it should be necessary to make a national expedition.

pens that many women die single at an advanced age, having never been able to fulfil the conditions required.

CXVIII. To these nations, which I have described, assembled in council, the Scythian ambassadors were admitted;—they informed the princes, that the Persian, having reduced under his authority all the nations of the adjoining continent, had thrown a bridge over the neck of the Bosphorus, in order to pass into theirs: that he had already subdued Thrace, and constructed a bridge over the Ister, ambitiously hoping to reduce them also. "Will it be just," they continued, "for you to remain inactive spectators of "our ruin? Rather, having the same senti- "ments, let us advance together against this "invader: unless you do this, we shall be re- "duced to the last extremities, and be com- "pelled either to forsake our country, or to "submit to the terms he may impose. If you "withhold your assistance, what may we not "dread? Neither will you have reason to ex- "pect a different or a better fate; for are not "you the object of the Persian's ambition as "well as ourselves? or do you suppose that, "having vanquished us, he will leave you un- "molested? That we reason justly, you have "sufficient evidence before you. If his hosti- "lities were directed only against us, with the

" view of revenging upon us the former servile
" condition of his nation, he would immediately
" have marched into our country, without at all
" injuring or molesting others; he would have
" shewn by his conduct, that his indignation was
" directed against the Scythians only. On the
" contrary, as soon as ever he set foot upon our
" continent, he reduced all the nations which he
" met, and has subdued the Thracians, and our
" neighbours the Getæ."

CXIX. When the Scythians had thus delivered their sentiments, the princes of the nations who were assembled, deliberated among themselves, but great difference of opinion prevailed; the sovereigns of the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ, were unanimous in their inclination to assist the Scythians; but those of the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, and Tauri, made this answer to the ambassadors: " If you
" had not been the first aggressors in this dis-
" pute, having first of all commenced hostilities
" against Persia, your desire of assistance would
" have appeared to us reasonable; we should
" have listened to you with attention, and yielded
" the aid which you require: but without any
" interference on our part, you first made incur-
" sions into their territories, and, as long as
" fortune favoured you, ruled over Persia. The
" same fortune now seems propitious to them,

" and they only retaliate your own conduct upon
" you. We did not before offer any injury to
" this people, neither without provocation shall
" we do so now: but if he attack our country,
" and commence hostilities against us, he will
" find that we shall not patiently endure the in-
" sult. Until he shall do this, we shall remain
" neutral. We cannot believe that the Persians
" intend any injury to us, but to those alone who
" first offended them."

CXX. When the Scythians heard this, and found that they had no assistance to expect, they determined to avoid all open and decisive encounters: with this view they divided themselves into two bodies, and retiring gradually before the enemy, they filled up the wells and fountains which lay in their way, and destroyed the produce of their fields. The Sauromatæ were directed to advance to the district under the authority of Scopasis, with orders, upon the advance of the Persians, to retreat towards the Mæotis, by the river Tanaïs. If the Persians retreated, they were to harass and pursue them. This was the disposition of one part of their power. The two other divisions of their country, the greater one under Indathyrsus, and the third under Taxacis, were to join themselves to the Geloni and Budini, and advancing a day's march before the Persians, were gradually to retreat,

and in other respects perform what had been previously determined in council. They were particularly enjoined to allure the enemy to pass the dominions of those nations who had withheld their assistance, in order that their indignation might be provoked; that as they were unwilling to unite in any hostilities before, they should now be compelled to take arms in their own defence. They were finally to retire into their own country, and to attack the enemy, if it could be done with any prospect of success [125].

CXXI. The Scythians, having determined upon these measures, advanced silently before the forces of Darius, sending forwards as scouts a select detachment of their cavalry: they also dispatched before them the carriages in which their wives and children usually live, together with their cattle, reserving only such a number as was necessary to their subsistence, giving directions that their route should be regularly towards the north.

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125 *Prospect of success.*] —The very judicious plan of operation here pourtrayed, seems rather to belong to a civilized nation, acquainted with all the subterfuges of the most improved military discipline, than to a people so rude and barbarous as the Scythians are elsewhere represented. The conduct of the Roman Fabius, who, to use the words of Ennius, cunctando restituit rem, was not very unlike this.—*T.*

CXXII. These carriages accordingly advanced as they were directed; the Scythian scouts, finding that the Persians had proceeded a three days journey from the Ister, encamped at the distance of one day's march from their army, and destroyed all the produce of the lands. The Persians, as soon as they came in sight of the Scythian cavalry, commenced the pursuit; whilst the Scythians regularly retired before them. Directing their attention to one part of the enemy in particular, the Persians continued to advance eastward towards the Tanaïs. The Scythians having crossed this river, the Persians did the same, till passing over the country of the Sauromatæ, they came to that of the Budini.

CXXIII. As long as the Persians remained in Scythia and Sarmatia, they had little power of doing injury, the country around them was so vast and extensive; but as soon as they came amongst the Budini, they discovered a town built entirely of wood, which the inhabitants had totally stripped and deserted; to this they set fire. This done, they continued their pursuit through the country of the Budini, till they came to a dreary solitude. This is beyond the Budini, and of the extent of a seven days journey, without a single inhabitant. Farther on are the Thyssa-

getæ [126], from whose country four great rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themselves into the Palus Mæotis. The names of these rivers are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanaïs, and the Syrgis.

CXXIV. As soon as Darius arrived at the above solitude, he halted, and encamped his army upon the banks of the Oarus: he then constructed eight large forts, at the distance of sixty stadia from each other, the ruins of which have been visible to my time. Whilst he was thus employed, that detachment of the enemy which he had pursued, making a circuit by the higher parts of the country, returned into Scythia. When these had disappeared, and were no more to be discovered, Darius left his forts in an un-

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126 *Thyssagetæ.*]—This people are indifferently named the Thyssagetæ, the Thyrsagetæ, and the Tyrregetæ; mention is made of them by Strabo, Pliny, and Valerius Flaccus.—This latter author says,

> Non ego sanguineis gestantem tympana bellis
> Thyrsagetem, cinctumque vagis post terga silebo
> Pellibus. *T.*

Concerning this nation, it is evident that Herodotus knew but little, probably, as Rennell observes, because Darius stopped short on the borders of their country.

This also is a proof, that what was known to the Greeks of this region, was the result of this expedition of Darius.

The Wolga may well be taken for the Oarus, and perhaps the Medmedelza and Choper for the Lycus and Syrgis, or Hyngis. Rennell, p. 90.

finished state, and directed his march westward, thinking that the Scythians whom he had pursued were the whole of the nation, and had fled towards the west: accelerating therefore his march, he arrived in Scythia, and met with two detachments of Scythians; these also he pursued, who took care to keep from him at the distance of one day's march.

CXXV. Darius continued his pursuit, and the Scythians, as had been previously concerted, led him into the country of those who had refused to accede to their alliance, and first of all into that of the Melanchlæni. When the lands of this people had been effectually harassed by the Scythians, as well as the Persians, the latter were again led by the former into the district of the Androphagi. Having in like manner distressed these, the Persians were allured on to the Neuri: the Neuri being also alarmed and harassed, the attempt was made to carry the Persians amongst the Agathyrsi *. This people however had observed, that before their own country had suffered any injury from the invaders, the Scythians had taken care to distress the lands of their neighbours; they accordingly

* Notwithstanding this was the only Scythian nation that shewed a becoming courage in defending their borders, they are before stigmatized by Herodotus as being remarkably effeminate.

dispatched to them a messenger, forbidding their nearer approach, and threatening that any attempt to advance should meet with their hostile resistance: with this determination, the Agathyrsi appeared in arms upon their borders. But the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, although they had suffered equally from the Persians and the Scythians, neither made any exertions, nor remembered what they had before menaced, but fled in alarm to the deserts of the north. The Scythians, turning aside from the Agathyrsi, who had refused to assist them, retreated from the country of the Neuri, towards Scythia, whither they were pursued by the Persians.

CXXVI. As they continued to persevere in the same conduct, Darius was induced to send a messenger to Indathyrsus, the Scythian prince. "Most wretched man," said the ambassador, "why do you thus continue to fly, having the "choice of one of these alternatives — If you "think yourself able to contend with me, stop "and let us engage: if you feel a conscious "inferiority, bring to me, as to your superior, "earth and water[127]. — Let us come to a con- "ference."

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[127] *Earth and water.*] — Amongst the ancient nations of the west, to shew that they confessed themselves overcome,

CXXVII. The Scythian monarch made this reply: "It is not my disposition, O Persian, to "fly from any man through fear; neither do I "now fly from you. My present conduct differs "not at all from that which I pursue in a state "of peace. Why I do not contend with you in "the open field, I will explain: we have no in- "habited towns nor cultivated lands of which we

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or that they surrendered at discretion, they gathered some grass, and presented it to the conqueror. By this action they resigned all the claims they possessed to their country. In the time of Pliny, the Germans still observed this custom. Summum apud antiquos signum victoriæ erat herbam porrigere victos, hoc est terra et altrice ipsâ humo et humatione etiam cedere; quem morem etiam nunc durare apud Germanos scio.—Festus and Servius, upon ver. 128, book viii. of the Æneid of Virgil,—

Et vittâ comptes voluit prætendere ramos,—

affirm, that herbam do, is the same thing as victum me fateor, et cedo victoriam. The same ceremony was observed, or something like it, when a country, a fief, or a portion of land, was given or sold to any one.—See Du Cange, Glossary, at the word Investitura. In the East, and in other countries, it was by the giving of earth and water, that a prince was put in possession of a country; and the investiture was made him in this manner. By this they acknowledged him their master without control: for earth and water involve every thing.—Aristotle says, that to give earth and water, is to renounce one's liberty.—*Larcher.*

Amongst the Romans, when an offender was sent into banishment, he was emphatically interdicted the use of fire and water; which was supposed to imply the absence of every aid and comfort.—*T.*

" can fear your invasion or your plunder, and " have therefore no occasion to engage with you " precipitately: but we have the sepulchres of " our fathers, these you may discover; and if " you endeavour to injure them, you shall soon " know how far we are able or willing to resist " you; till then we will not meet you in battle. " Remember farther, that I acknowledge no " master or superior, but Jupiter, who was my " ancestor, and Histia the Scythian queen. In- " stead of the presents which you require, of earth " and water, I will send you such as you better " deserve: and in return for your calling yourself " my master, I only bid you weep."— Such was the answer of the Scythian *, which the ambassador related to Darius.

CXXVIII. The very idea of servitude exasperated the Scythian princes; they accordingly dispatched that part of their army which was under Scopasis, together with the Sauromatæ, to

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* *Answer of the Scythian.*]—To bid a person weep, was a kind of proverbial form of wishing him ill; thus Horace,

- - - Demetri, teque Tigelli
Discipularum inter *jubeo plorare* cathedras.

Afterwards, *the answer of the Scythians* became a proverb to express the same wish; as was also the bidding a person eat onions.—See *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of Bias, and Erasmus in *Scytharum oratio*, and *cepas edere.*—*T.*

solicit a conference with the Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; those who remained did not think it necessary any more to lead the Persians about, but regularly endeavoured to surprize them when at their meals; they watched, therefore, their proper opportunities, and executed their purpose. The Scythian horse never failed of driving back the cavalry of the Persians, but these last, in falling back upon their infantry, were always secured and supported. The Scythians, notwithstanding their advantage over the Persian horse, always retreated from the foot; they frequently, however, attacked them under cover of the night,

CXXIX. In these attacks of the Scythians upon the camp of Darius, the Persians had one advantage, which I shall explain—it arose from the braying of the asses, and appearance of the mules: I have before observed, that neither of these animals are produced in Scythia[128], on account of the extreme cold. The braying, there-

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[128] *Are produced in Scythia.*]—The Scythians nevertheless, if Clemens Alexandrinus may be believed, sacrificed asses; but it is not improbable that he confounded this people with the Hyperboreans, as he adduces in proof of his assertion a verse from Callimachus, which obviously refers to this latter people. We are also informed by Pindar, that the Hyperboreans sacrificed hecatombs of asses to Apollo.—*Larcher.*

fore, of the asses greatly distressed the Scythian horses, which, as often as they attacked the Persians, pricked up their ears and ran back, equally disturbed by a noise which they had never heard, and figures they had never seen: this was of some importance in the progress of hostilities.

CXXX. The Scythians, discovering that the Persians were in extreme perplexity, hoped that by detaining them longer in their country, they should finally reduce them to the utmost distress: with this view, they occasionally left exposed some of their cattle with their shepherds, and artfully retired; of these, with much exultation, the Persians took possession.

CXXXI. This was again and again repeated; Darius nevertheless became gradually in want of almost every necessary: the Scythian princes, knowing this, sent to him a messenger, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows[129], as a

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[129] *A bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows.*]—This naturally brings to the mind of an Englishman a somewhat similar present, intended to irritate and provoke, best recorded and expressed by our immortal Shakespeare.—See his Life of Henry the Fifth:—

French Ambassador.——Thus then, in few;—
Your highness lately sending into France,
Did claim some certain dukedoms, in the right

Of

present. The Persians inquired of the bearer, what these might mean; but the man declared, that his orders were only to deliver them and re-

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Of your great predecessor Edward the Third;
In answer of which claim, the prince our master
Says, that you savour too much of your youth,
And bids you be advised—There's nought in France
That can be with a nimble galliad won,
You cannot revel into dukedoms there;
He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,
This tun of treasure, and in lieu of this
Desires you, let the dukedoms that you claim
Hear no more of you.—Thus the Dauphin speaks.

K. Henry. What treasure, uncle?

Exet. Tennis-balls, my liege.

K. Henry. We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us:
His present and your pains we thank you for.
When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,
We will in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.
Tell him he hath made a match with such a wrangler,
That all the courts of France will be disturb'd
With chaces.

It may not be improper to remark, that of this enigmatical way of speaking and acting, the ancients appear to have been remarkably fond. In the Pythagorean school, the precept to abstain from beans, κυαμων απεχεσθαι, involved the command of refraining from unlawful love; and in an epigram imputed to Virgil, the letter Y intimated a systematic attachment to virtue; this may be found in Lactantius, book vi. c. iii. The act of Tarquin, in striking off the heads from the tallest poppies in his garden, in sufficiently notorious; and the fables of Æsop and of Phædrus may serve to prove that this partiality to allegory was not more universal than it was founded in a delicate and just conception of things.—*T.*

turn: he advised them, however, to exert their sagacity, and interpret the mystery.

CXXXII. The Persians accordingly held a consultation on the subject. Darius was of opinion, that the Scythians intended by this to express submission to him, and give him the earth and the water which he required. The mouse, as he explained it, was produced in the earth, and lived on the same food as man; the frog was a native of the water; the bird bore great resemblance to a horse[130]; and in giving the arrows, they intimated the surrender of their power: this was the interpretation of Darius. Gobryas, however, one of the seven who had dethroned the Magus, thus interpreted the presents: "Men "of Persia, unless like birds ye shall mount into "the air, like mice take refuge in the earth, or "like frogs leap into the marshes, these arrows "shall prevent the possibility of your return to "the place from whence you came." This explanation was generally accepted.

CXXXIII. That detachment of the Scythians who had before been intrusted with the defence

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130 *To a horse.*]—It is by no means easy to find out any resemblance which a bird bears to a horse, except, as Larcher observes, in swiftness, which is, however, very far-fetched.—*T.*

of the Palus Mæotis, but who were afterwards sent to the Ionians at the Ister, no sooner arrived at the bridge, than they thus spake: "Men of Ionia, "if you will but hearken to our words, we come "to bring you liberty: we have been told, that "Darius commanded you to guard this bridge "for sixty days only; if in that time he should "not appear, you were permitted to return home. "Do this, and you will neither disobey him nor "offend us: stay, therefore, till the time which "he has appointed, and then depart." With this injunction the Ionians promising to comply, the Scythians instantly retired.

CXXXIV. The rest of the Scythians, having sent the present to Darius which we have described, opposed themselves to him, both horse and foot, in order of battle. Whilst they were in this situation, a hare was seen in the space betwixt the two armies; the Scythians immediately pursued it with loud cries. Darius, inquiring the cause of the tumult which he heard, was informed that the enemy were pursuing a hare; upon this, turning to some of his confidential attendants, "These men," he exclaimed, "do, indeed, seem "greatly to despise us; and Gobryas has pro- "perly interpreted the Scythian presents: I am "now of the same opinion myself, and it be- "comes us to exert all our sagacity to effect a "safe return to the place from whence we came."

"Indeed, Sir," answered Gobryas, "I had be-
"fore heard of the poverty of this people, I
"have now clearly seen it, and can perceive that
"they hold us in extreme contempt. I would
"therefore advise, that as soon as the night sets
"in, we light our fires as usual[131]; and far-
"ther to delude the enemy, let us tie all the
"asses together, and leave behind us the more
"infirm of our forces; this done, let us retire,
"before the Scythians shall advance towards the
"Ister, and break down the bridge, or before the
"Ionians shall come to any resolution which may
"cause our ruin."

CXXXV. Darius having acceded to this opinion of Gobryas, as soon as the evening ap-

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131 *Fires as usual.*]—This incident is related, with very little variation, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, a book which I may venture to recommend to all young students in Greek, from its entertaining matter, as well as from the easy elegance and purity of its style; indeed I cannot help expressing my surprise, that it should not yet have found its way into our public schools; it might, I think, be read with much advantage as preparatory to Xenophon.—*T.*

Since the above was written, a translation of this entertaining book has appeared by Dr. Shepherd. The author was a Macedonian, and lived in the reign of the emperors Antoninus and Verus. The two best manuscripts of his work are in the Grand Duke of Tuscany's library, and in Trinity College, Cambridge. There are collations and various readings by John Price, Isaac Vossius, and Casaubon, in Vossius's library.

proached, the more infirm of the troops, and those whose loss was deemed of little importance, were left behind; all the asses also were secured together: the motive for this was, the expectation that the presence of those who remained would cause the asses to bray as usual. The sick and infirm were deserted, under the pretence, that whilst the king was marching with his best troops to engage the Scythians, they were to defend the camp. After circulating this report, the fires were lighted, and Darius with the greatest expedition directed his march towards the Ister: the asses, missing the usual multitude, made so much the greater noise, from hearing which, the Scythians were induced to believe that the Persians still continued in their camp.

CXXXVI. When morning appeared, they who were left, perceiving themselves deserted by Darius, made signals to the Scythians, and explained their situation; upon which intelligence, the two divisions of the Scythians, forming a junction with the Sauromatæ, the Budini, and Geloni, advanced towards the Ister, in pursuit of the Persians; but as the Persian army consisted principally of foot, who were ignorant of the country, through which there were no regular paths; and as the Scythians were chiefly horse, and perfectly acquainted with the ways, they mutually missed of each other, and the Scythians

arrived at the bridge much sooner than the Persians. Here, finding that the Persians were not yet come, they thus addressed the Ionians, who were on board their vessels:—"Ionians, "the number of days is now past, and you do "wrong in remaining here; if motives of fear "have hitherto detained you, you may now break "down the bridge, and having recovered your "liberties, be thankful to the gods and to us: "we will take care that he who was formerly "your master, shall never again make war upon "any one."

CXXXVII. The Ionians being met in council upon this subject, Miltiades, the Athenian leader, and prince of the Chersonese[132], on the Hellespont, was of opinion that the advice of the Scythians should be taken, and Ionia * be thus

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132 *Prince of the Chersonese.*]—All these petty princes had imposed chains upon their country, and were only supported in their usurpations by the Persians, whose interest it was to prefer a despotic government to a democracy; this last would have been much less obsequious, and less prompt to obey their pleasure.—*Larcher.*

* This fact is mentioned at large by Cornelius Nepos, in his life of Miltiades. Miltiades, presuming the advice which he had given would be communicated to Darius on his return, left the Chersonese and retired to Athens. Cujus natio, says the biographer, etsi non valuit, tamen magnopere est laudanda cum amicior omnium libertati quàm suæ fuerit dominationi.

relieved from servitude. Histiæus, the Milesian, thought differently; he represented, that through Darius each of them now enjoyed the sovereignty of their several cities; that if the power of Darius was once taken away, neither he himself should continue supreme at Miletus, nor would any of them be able to retain their superiority: for it was evident that all their fellow-citizens would prefer a popular government to that of a tyrant. This argument appeared so forcible, that all they who had before assented to Miltiades, instantly adopted it.

CXXXVIII. They who acceded to this opinion were also in great estimation with the king. Of the princes of the Hellespont, there were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus[133],

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[133] *Lampsacus.*]—Lampsacus was first called Pityusa, on the Asiatic shore, nearly opposite to Gallipoli; this place was given to Themistocles, to furnish him with wine. Several great men amongst the ancients were natives of Lampsacus, and Epicurus lived here for some time.—*Pococke.*

From this place Priapus, who was here worshipped, took one of his names:

Et te ruricolo Lampsace tuta deo.—*Ovid.*

and from hence Lampsacius was made to signify wanton; see Martial, book ii. ep. 17.—

Nam mea Lampsacio lascivit pagina versu.—*T.*

Herophantus of Parium [134], Metrodorus the Proconnesian [135], Aristagoras of Cyzicum, and Ariston the Byzantian [136]. Amongst the Ionian leaders were Stratias of Chios, Æacides of Samos, Laodamas the Phocean, and Histiæus the Milesian, whose opinion prevailed in the assembly, in oppo-

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134 *Parium.*]—Parium was built by the Milesians, Erythreans, and the people of the isle of Paros; it flourished much under the kings of Pergamus, of the race of Attalus, on account of the services this city did to that house.—*Pococke.*

It has been disputed whether Archilochos, the celebrated writer of iambics, was a native of this place, or of the island of Paros. Horace says,

Parios ego primus iambos
Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi. *T.*

135 *Metrodorus the Proconnesian.*]—This personage must not be confounded with the celebrated philosopher of Chios, who asserted the eternity of the world. The ancients make mention of the old and new Proconnesus; the new Proconnesus is now called Marmora, the old is the island of Alonia.—*T.*

136 *Ariston the Byzantian.*]—This is well known to be the modern Constantinople, and has been too often and too correctly described to require any thing from my pen. Its situation was perhaps never better expressed, than in these two lines from Ovid:

Quaque tenent ponti Byzantia littora fauces
Hic locus est gemini janua vasta maris.

This city was originally founded by Byzas, a reputed son of Neptune, 656 years before Christ. Perhaps the most minute and satisfactory account of every thing relating to Byzantium, may be found in Mr. Gibbon's history.—*T.*

sition to that of Miltiades: the only Æolian of consequence. who was present on this occasion, was Aristagoras of Cyme.

CXXXIX. These leaders, acceding to the opinion of Histiæus, thought it would be advisable to break down that part of the bridge which was towards Scythia, to the extent of a bow-shot. This, although it was of no real importance, would prevent the Scythians from passing the Ister on the bridge, and might induce them to believe that no inclination was wanting on the part of the Ionians, to comply with their wishes: accordingly Histiæus thus addressed them in the name of the rest: "Men of Scythia, we consider "your advice as of consequence to our interest, "and we take in good part your urging it upon "us. You have shewn us the path which we "ought to pursue, and we are readily disposed "to follow it; we shall break down the bridge as "you recommend, and in all things shall discover "the most earnest zeal to secure our liberties: "in the mean time, whilst we shall thus be em-"ployed, it becomes you to go in pursuit of the "enemy, and having found them, revenge your-"selves and us."

CXL. The Scythians, placing an entire confidence in the promises of the Ionians, returned

to the pursuit of the Persians; they did not, however, find them, for in that particular district they themselves had destroyed all the fodder for the horses, and corrupted all the springs; they might otherwise easily have found the Persians; and thus it happened, that the measure which at first promised them success, became ultimately injurious. They directed their march to those parts of Scythia where they were secure of water and provisions for their horses, thinking themselves certain of here meeting with the enemy; but the Persian prince, following the track he had before pursued, found, though with the greatest difficulty, the place he aimed at: arriving at the bridge by night, and finding it broken down, he was exceedingly disheartened, and conceived himself abandoned by the Ionians.

CXLI. There was in the army of Darius an Ægyptian very remarkable for the loudness of his voice[137]: this man, Darius ordered to advance to

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[137] *Loudness of his voice.*]—By the use here made of this Ægyptian, and the particular mention of Stentor in the Iliad, it may be presumed that it was a customary thing for one or more such personages to be present on every military expedition. At the present day, perhaps, we may feel ourselves inclined to dispute the utility, or ridicule the appearance of such a character; but before the invention of artillery, and when the firm but silent discipline of the ancients, and of

the banks of the Ister, and to pronounce with all his strength, the name of "Histiæus the Milesian;" Histiæus immediately heard him, and approaching with all the fleet, enabled the Persians to repass, by again forming a bridge.

CXLII. By these means the Persians escaped, whilst the Scythians were a second time engaged in a long and fruitless pursuit. From this period the Scythians considered the Ionians as the basest and most contemptible of mankind, speaking of

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the Greeks in particular, is considered, such men might occasionally exert their talents with no despicable effect. . .

Heaven's empress mingles with the mortal crowd,
And shouts in Stentor's sounding voice aloud;
Stentor the strong, endued with brazen lungs,
Whose throat surpass'd the force of fifty tongues.

The shouting of Achilles from the Grecian battlements, is represented to have had the power of impressing terror on the hearts of the boldest warriors, and of suspending a tumultuous and hard-fought battle:

Forth march'd the chief, and distant from the crowd
High on the rampart rais'd his voice aloud;
With her own shout Minerva swells the sound;
Troy starts astonish'd, and the shores rebound;
So high his brazen voice the hero rear'd,
Hosts drop their arms, and tremble as they heard. *T.*

It has moreover been remarked by travellers, that from frequent habit, the voices of the criers to prayers from the mosques in Mahometan cities, may be heard from a distance hardly credible.

them as men attached to servitude, and incapable of freedom; and always using towards them the most reproachful terms.

CXLIII. Darius proceeding through Thrace, arrived at Sestos of the Chersonese, from whence he passed over into Asia: he left, however, some troops in Europe, under the command of Megabyzus[138], a Persian, of whom it is reported, that one day in conversation the king spoke in terms of the highest honour.—He was about to eat some pomegranates, and having opened one, he was asked by his brother Artabanus, what thing there was which he would desire to possess in as great a quantity as there were seeds in the pomegranate?[139] "I would rather," he replied, "have "so many Megabyzi, than see Greece under my "power." This compliment he paid him publicly, and at this time he left him at the head of eighty thousand men.

CXLIV. This same person also, for a saying which I shall relate, left behind him in the Helles-

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138 *Megabyzus.*]—The text reads Megabazus, but Herodotus elsewhere says Megabyzus, which is supported by the best manuscripts.—*T.*

139 *Seeds in the pomegranate.*]—Plutarch relates this incident in his apophthegms of kings and illustrious generals, but applies it to Zopyrus, who by mangling his nose, and cutting off his ears, made his master Sovereign of Babylon.—*T.*

pont a name never to be forgotten. Being at Byzantium, he learned upon inquiry that the Chalcedonians [140] had built their city seventeen years before the Byzantians had founded theirs: he observed, that the Chalcedonians must then have been blind,—or otherwise, having the choice of a situation in all respects better, they would never have preferred one so very inferior.—Megabyzus, being thus left with the command of the Hellespont, reduced all those who were in opposition to the Medes [141].

CXLV. About the same time another great expedition was set on foot in Libya, the occasion of which I shall relate: it will be first necessary to premise this:—The posterity of the Argonauts [142]

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[140] *The Chalcedonians.*]—The promontory on which the ancient Chalcedon stood, is a very fine situation, being a gentle rising ground from the sea, with which it is almost bounded on three sides; further on the east side of it, is a small river which falls into the little bay to the south, that seems to have been their port; so that Chalcedon would be esteemed a most delightful situation, if Constantinople was not so near it, which is indeed more advantageously situated.—*Pococke.*

[141] *The Medes.*]—Herodotus, and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes. Claudian says,

Remige Medo
Sollicitatus Athos. *Larcher.*

[142] *Posterity of the Argonauts.*]—An account of this incident, with many variations and additions, is to be found in Plutarch's Treatise on the Virtues of Women.—*T.*

having been expelled from Lemnos, by the Pelasgians, who had carried off from Brauron, some Athenian women, sailed to Lacedæmon; they disembarked at Taygetus[143], where they made a great fire. The Lacedæmonians perceiving this, sent to inquire of them who and whence they were; they returned for answer that they were Minyæ, descendants of those heroes who, passing the ocean in the Argo, settled in Lemnos, and there begot them. When the Lacedæmonians heard this account of their descent, they sent a second messenger, inquiring what was the meaning of the fire they had made, and what were their intentions in coming among them. Their reply was to this effect, that, being expelled by the Pelasgians, they had returned, as was reasonable, to the country of their ancestors, and were desirous to fix their residence with them, as partakers of their lands and honours. The Lacedæmonians expressed themselves willing to receive them upon their own terms; and they were induced to this,

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[143] *Taygetus.*]—This was a very celebrated mountain of antiquity; it was sacred to Bacchus, for here, according to Virgil, the Spartan virgins acted the Bacchanal in his honour;—

Virginibus bacchata Lacænis
Taygeta.

Its dogs are also mentioned by Virgil,—Taygetique canes; though perhaps this may poetically be used for Spartan dogs.—*T.*

as well from other considerations, as because the Tyndaridæ [144] had sailed in the Argo; they accordingly admitted the Minyæ among them, assigned them lands, and distributed them among their tribes. The Minyæ in return parted with the women whom they had brought from Lemnos, and connected themselves in marriage with others.

CXLVI. In a very short time these Minyæ became distinguished for their intemperance, making themselves not only dangerous from their ambition, but odious by their vices. The Lacedæmonians conceived their enormities worthy of death, and accordingly cast them into prison: it is to be remarked, that this people always inflict capital punishments by night, never by day. When things were in this situation, the wives of the prisoners, who were natives of the country, and the daughters of the principal citizens, solicited permission to visit their husbands in confinement; as no stratagem was suspected, this was granted. The wives of the Minyæ [145] accordingly entered

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144 *Tyndaridæ.*]—Castor and Pollux, so called from Tyndarus, the husband of their mother Leda.—*T.*

145 *The wives of the Minyæ.*]—This story is related at some length by Valerius Maximus, book iv. chap. 6, in which he treats of conjugal affection. The same author tells us of Hipsicratea, the beloved wife of Mithridates, who, to gratify

the prison, and exchanged dresses with their husbands: by this artifice they effected their escape, and again took refuge on Mount Taygetus.

CXLVII. It was about this time that Theras[146], the son of Autesion, was sent from Lacedæmon to establish a colony: Autesion was the son of Tisamenus, grandson of Thersander, great-grandson of Polynices. This Theras was of the Cadmean family, uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus: during the minority of his nephews, the regency of Sparta was confided to him. When his sister's sons grew up, and he was obliged to resign his power, he was little inclined to acknowledge superiority where he had been accustomed to exercise it; he therefore refused to remain in Sparta, but determined to join his relations. In the island now called Thera, but formerly Callista, the posterity of Membliares, son of Pœciles[147] the

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her husband, assumed and constantly wore the habit of a man.—*T.*

146 *Theras.*]—This personage was the sixth descendant from Œdipus, and the tenth from Cadmus.—See Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo, v. 6.

147 *Pœciles.*]—M. Larcher makes no scruple of translating this Procles; and in a very elaborate note attempts to establish his opinion, that this must be an abbreviation for

Phœnician, resided; to this place Cadmus, son of Agenor, was driven, when in search of Europa; and either from partiality to the country, or from prejudice of one kind or other, he left there, among other Phœnicians, Membliares[148] his relation. These men inhabited the island of Callista eight years before Theras arrived from Lacedæmon.

CXLVIII. To this people Theras came, with a select number from the different Spartan tribes: he had no hostile views, but a sincere wish to dwell with them on terms of friendship. The Minyæ having escaped from prison, and taken refuge on Mount Taygetus, the Lacedæmonians were still determined to put them to death; Theras, however, interceded in their behalf, and

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Patrocles; but as, by the confession of this ingenious and learned Frenchman, the authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, Apollodorus, and Porphyry, are against the reading, even of Procles for Pœciles, it has too much the appearance of sacrificing plain sense and probability at the shrines of prejudice and system, for me to adopt it without any thing like conviction.—*T.*

148 *Membliares.*]—Pausanias differs from Herodotus in his account of the descent of Membliares; he represents him as a man of very mean origin: to mark these little deviations, may not perhaps be of consequence to the generality of English readers, but none surely will be displeased at being informed, where, if they think proper, they may compare what different authors have said upon the same subject.—*T.*

engaged to prevail on them to quit their situation. His proposal was accepted, and accordingly, with three vessels of thirty oars, he sailed to join the descendants of Membliares, taking with him only a small number of the Minyæ. The far greater part of them had made an attack upon the Paroreatæ, and the Caucons, and expelled them from their country; dividing themselves afterwards into six bodies, they built the same number of towns, namely, Lepreus, Magistus, Thrixas, Pyrgus, Epius, and Nudius: of these, the greater part have in my time been destroyed by the Eleans.—The island before mentioned is called Theras, from the name of its founder.

CXLIX. The son of Theras refusing to sail with him, his father left him, as he himself observed, as a sheep amongst wolves; from which saying the young man got the name of Oiolycus, which he ever afterwards retained. Oiolycus had a son named Ægeus, who gave his name to the Ægidæ, a considerable Spartan tribe, who, finding themselves in danger of leaving no posterity behind them, built, by the direction of the oracle, a temple* to the Furies[149] of Laius and Œdipus;

* *Temple.*]—The original is ἱρον, which means a sacred edifice.

[149] *The Furies.*]—With a view to the information and amusement of the English reader, I subjoin a few particulars concerning the Furies.

They

this succeeded to their wish. A circumstance similar to this happened afterwards in the island of Thera, to the descendants of this tribe.

They were three in number, the daughters of Night and Acheron: some have added a fourth; their names, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra; their residence in the infernal regions; their office to torment the wicked.

They were worshipped at Athens, and first of all by Orestes, when acquitted by the Areopagites of matricide. Æschylus was the first person who represented them as having snakes instead of hair. Their name in heaven was Diræ, from the Greek word Δειναι, transposing ρ for ν: on earth they were called Furiæ and Eumenides; their name in the regions below was Stygiæ Canes. The ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, abound with passages descriptive of their attributes and influence: the following animated apostrophe to them is from Æschylus—Mr. Potter's version:

See this griesly troop,
Sleep has oppress'd them, and their baffled rage
Shall fail.—Grim-visag'd hags, grown old
In loath'd virginity: nor god nor man
Approach'd their bed, nor savage of the wilds;
For they were born for mischiefs, and their haunts
In dreary darkness, 'midst the yawning gulphs
Of Tartarus beneath, by men abhorr'd,
And by the Olympian gods.

After giving the above quotation from Æschylus, it may not be unnecessary to add, that the three whom I have specified by name, were only the three principal, or supreme of many furies. Here the furies of Laius and Œdipus are mentioned, because particular furies were, as it seems, supposed ready to avenge the murder of every individual;

Thee may th' Erinnys of thy sons destroy.
Eurip. Medea. Potter, 1523.

Or the manes themselves became furies for that purpose:

Their

CL. Thus far the accounts of the Lacedæmonians and Thereans agree; what follows, is related on the authority of the latter only:—Grinus, son of Æsanius, and descended from the above Theras, was prince of the island; he went to Delphi, carrying with him an hecatomb for sacrifice, and accompanied, among others of his citizens, by Battus the son of Polymnestus, of the family of Euthymus a Minyan; Grinus, consulting the oracle about something of a different nature, was commanded by the Pythian to build a city in Libya. "I," replied the prince, "am "too old and too infirm for such an undertaking; "suffer it to devolve on some of these younger "persons who accompany me;" at the same time he pointed to Battus. On their return, they paid no regard to the injunction of the oracle, being both ignorant of the situation of Libya, and not caring to send a colony on so precarious an adventure.

Their shades shall pour their vengeance on thy head.
Ib. 1503.

Orestes in his madness calls Electra one of his furies; that is, one of those which attended to torment him:

Off, let me go: I know thee who thou art,
One of *my* furies, and thou grapplest with me,
To whirl me into Tartarus.—Avaunt!
Orestes, 270.

It stands at present in the version *the* furies; which is wrong.

CLI. For seven years after the above event, it never rained in Thera; in consequence of which, every tree in the place perished, except one. The inhabitants consulted the oracle; when the sending a colony to Libya was again recommended by the Pythian: as therefore no alternative remained, they sent some emissaries into Crete, to inquire whether any of the natives or strangers residing among them had ever visited Libya. The persons employed on this occasion, after going over the whole island, came at length to the city Itanus[150], where they became acquainted with a certain dyer of purple, whose name was Corobius; this man informed them, that he was once driven by contrary winds into Libya, and had landed there, on the island of Platea*: they therfore bargained with him for a certain sum, to accompany them to Thera. Very few were induced to leave Thera upon this business; they who went were conducted by Corobius, who was left upon the island he had described, with provisions for some months; the rest of their party made their way back by sea, as expeditiously as possible, to acquaint the Thereans with the event.

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150 *Itanus.*]—Some of the dictionaries inform us, that this place is now called Paleo-Castro; but Savary, in his Letters on Greece, remarks, that the modern Greeks give this name to all ancient places.—*T.*

* This island on the Libyan coast is now called Bomba.

CLII. By their omitting to return at the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the greatest distress; it happened, however, that a Samian vessel, whose commander's name was Colæus, was, in its course towards Ægypt, driven upon the island of Platea; these Samians, hearing the story of Corobius, left him provisions for a twelvemonth. On leaving this island, with a wish to go to Ægypt, the winds compelled them to take their course westward, and continuing thus, without intermission, carried them beyond the Columns of Hercules, till, as it should seem by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at Tartessus [151]. As this was a port then but little known, their voyage ultimately proved very advantageous; so that, excepting Sostrates, with whom there can be no competition, no Greeks were ever before so fortunate in any commercial undertaking. With six talents, which

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151 *Tartessus.*]—This place is called by Ptolemy, Carteia, and is seen in D'Anville's maps under that name, at the entrance of the Mediterranean: mention is made in Ovid of Tartessia litora.—*T.*

This place lies without the Columns of Hercules, and at the mouth of the river Betis, near Cadis. The text says, beyond the Columns in respect to Platea and Ægypt. Carteia lay close to Gibraltar, and its ruins are now shewn under the same name.

Mela, l. ii. c. 6. makes Carteia the same with Tartessus.

was a tenth part of what they gained, the Samians made a brazen vase, in the shape of an Argolic goblet, round the brim of which the heads of griffins[152] were regularly disposed: this was deposited in the temple of Juno, where it is supported by three colossal figures, seven cubits high, resting on their knees. This was the first occasion of the particular friendship, which afterwards subsisted between the Samians, and the people of Cyrene and Thera.

CLIII. The Thereans, having left Corobius behind, returned, and informed their countrymen that they had made a settlement in an island belonging to Libya: they, in consequence, determined, that a select number should be sent from each of their seven cities, and that if these happened to be brothers, it should be determined by lot, who should go; and that finally, Battus should be their prince and leader: to Platea, they sent accordingly two ships of fifty oars.

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152 *Griffins.*]—In a former note upon this word I neglected to inform the reader, that in Sir Thomas Brown's Vulgar Errors there is a chapter upon the subject of griffins, very curious and entertaining, p. 142. This author satisfactorily explains the Greek word Γρυψ, or Gryps, to mean no more than a particular kind of eagle or vulture: being compounded of a lion and an eagle, it is a happy emblem of valour and magnanimity, and therefore applicable to princes, generals, &c.; and from this it is borne in the coat of arms of many noble families in Europe.—*T.*

CLIV. With this account, as given by the Thereans, the Cyreneans agree, except in what relates to Battus; here they differ exceedingly, and tell, in contradiction, the following history: —There is a town in Crete, named Oaxus, where Etearchus was once king; having lost his wife, by whom he had a daughter, called Phronima, he married a second time: no sooner did his last wife take possession of his house, than she proved herself to Phronima, a real step-mother. Not content with injuring her by every species of cruelty and ill-treatment, she at length upbraided her with being unchaste, and persuaded her husband to believe so. Deluded by the artifice of his wife, he perpetrated the following act of barbarity against his daughter: there was at Oaxus a merchant of Thera, whose name was Themison; of him, after shewing him the usual rites of hospitality, he exacted an oath that he would comply with whatever he should require; having done this, he delivered him his daughter, ordering him to throw her into the sea. Themison reflected with unfeigned sorrow on the artifice which had been practised upon him, and the obligation imposed; he determined, however, what to do: he took the damsel, and having sailed to some distance from land, to fulfil his oath, he secured a rope about her, and plunged her into the sea; but he immediately took her out again, and carried her to Thera.

CLV. Here Polymnestus, a Therean of some importance, took Phronima to be his concubine, and after a certain time had a son by her, remarkable for his shrill and stammering voice: his name, as the Thereans and Cyreneans assert, was Battus [153], but I think it was something else. He was not, I believe, called Battus till after his arrival in Libya; he was then so named, either on account of the answer of the oracle, or from the subsequent dignity which he attained. Battus, in the Libyan tongue, signifies a prince; and I should think that the Pythian, foreseeing he was to reign in Libya, distinguished him by this African title. As soon as he grew up, he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle concerning the imperfection of his voice: the answer he received was this:

Hence, Battus! of your voice inquire no more;
But found a city on the Libyan shore.

This is the same as if she had said in Greek, "Inquire no more, O king, concerning your

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[153] *Battus.*]—Battus, according to Hesychius, also signifies, in the Libyan tongue, a king: from this person, and his defect of pronunciation, comes, according to Suidas, the word Βαττα̣ριζειν, to stammer. There was also an ancient foolish poet of this name, from whom, according to the same authority, Βαττολογια signified an unmeaning redundance of expression. Neither must the Battus here mentioned be confounded with the Battus whom Mercury turned into a direction-post, and whose story is so well told by Ovid.—*T.*

" voice." To this Battus replied, " O king, I " came to you on account of my infirmity of " tongue; you, in return, impose upon me an " undertaking which is impossible; for how can " I, who have neither forces nor money, establish " a colony in Libya?" He could not, however, obtain any other answer, which when he found to be the case, he returned to Thera.

CLVI. Not long afterwards, he, with the rest of the Thereans, was visited by many and great calamities; and not knowing to what cause they should impute them, they sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle on the subject. The Pythian informed them, that if, under the conduct of Battus, they would colonize Cyrene in Libya, things would certainly go better with them: they accordingly dispatched Battus to accomplish this, with two fifty-oared vessels. These men acting from compulsion, set sail for Libya, but soon returned to Thera; but the Thereans, forcibly preventing their landing, ordered them to return from whence they came. Thus circumstanced, they again set sail, and founded a city in an island contiguous to Libya, called, as we have before remarked, Platea[154]; this city is said to be

[154] *Platea.*]—This name is written also *Platæa:* Stephanus Byzantinus has it both in that form, and also *Platēa* or

equal in extent to that in which the Cyreneans now reside.

CLVII. They continued in this place for the space of two years, but finding their ill fortune still pursue them, they again sailed to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, leaving only one of their party behind them: when they desired to know why, having established themselves in Libya, they had experienced no favourable reverse of fortune, the Pythian made them this answer:—

Know'st thou then Libya better than the God,
Whose fertile shores thy feet have never trod?
He who has well explor'd them, thus replies;
I can but wonder at a man so wise!

On hearing this, Battus, and they who were with him, again returned; for the deity still persevered in requiring them to form a settlement in Libya, where they had not yet been: touching, therefore, at Platea, they took on board the man whom they had left, and established their colony in Libya itself. The place they selected was Aziris,

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Plateia. Pliny speaks of three *Plateas*, and a *Plate*, off the coast of Troas; but they must have been very inconsiderable spots, and have not been mentioned by any other author. The best editions of Herodotus read *Platĕa* here; but I suspect *Plateia* to be right, for Scylax has it so as well as Stephanus.—The place of the celebrated battle in Bœotia was Platææ.

immediately opposite to where they had before resided; two sides of which were inclosed by a beautiful range of hills, and a third agreeably watered by a river.

CLVIII. At this place they continued six years; when, at the desire of the Libyans, who promised to conduct them to a better situation, they removed. The Libyans accordingly became their guides, and had so concerted the matter, as to take care that the Greeks should pass through the most beautiful part of their country by night: the direction they took was westward, the name of the country they were not permitted to see was Irasa*.—They came at length to what is called the fountain of Apollo[155]: — "Men of "Greece," said the Libyans, "the heavens are "here opened to you, and here it will be proper "for you to reside."

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* *Irasa.*]—Milton calls this place Irassa.

> As when earth's son Antæus, to compare
> Small things with greatest, in Irassa strove
> With Jove's Alcides.

Milton has however the authority of Pindar:

——— εβαν
Ιρασσαν προς πολιν Ανταιου.———

155 *Fountain of Apollo.*]—The name of this fountain was Cyre, from which the town of Cyrene had afterwards its name. Herodotus calls it, in the subsequent paragraph, Thestis; but there were probably many fountains in this place.—*Larcher.*

CLIX. During the life of Battus, who reigned forty years, and under Arcesilaus his son, who reigned sixteen, the Cyreneans remained in this colony, without any alteration with respect to their numbers: but under their third prince, who was also called Battus, and who was surnamed the Happy, the Pythian, by her declarations, excited a general propensity in the Greeks to migrate to Libya*, and join themselves to the Cyreneans. The Cyreneans, indeed, had invited them to a share of their possessions, but the oracle had also thus expressed itself:

Who seeks not Libya 'till the lands are shar'd,
Let him for sad repentance be prepar'd.

The Greeks, therefore, in great numbers, settled themselves at Cyrene. The neighbouring Libyans with their king Adicran, seeing themselves injuriously deprived of a considerable part of their lands, and exposed to much insulting treatment, made an offer of themselves and their country to Apries, sovereign of Ægypt: this prince assembled a numerous army of Ægyptians, and sent

* This province, says Rennell, is named Libya Pentapolis, from its having five towns of note in it,—Cyrene, Barce, Ptolemais, Berenice, and Tauchira; all of which not only exist at present under the form either of towns or villages, but it is remarkable that their names are scarcely changed from what we may suppose the pronunciation to have been among the Greeks.—They are now called, Kurin, Barca, Tollamata, Bernic, and Taukera.—p. 611.

them to attack Cyrene. The Cyreneans drew themselves up at Irasa, near the fountain Thestis, and in a fixed battle routed the Ægyptians, who till now, from their ignorance, had despised the Grecian power. The battle was so decisive, that very few of the Ægyptians returned to their country; they were on this account so exasperated against Apries, that they revolted from his authority.

CLX. Arcesilaus, the son of this Battus, succeeded to the throne; he was at first engaged in some contest with his brothers, but they removed themselves from him to another part of Libya, where, after some deliberation, they founded a city. They called it Barce, which name it still retains. Whilst they were employed upon this business, they endeavoured to excite the Libyans against the Cyreneans. Arcesilaus without hesitation commenced hostilities both against those who had revolted from him, and against the Libyans who had received them; intimidated by which, these latter fled to their countrymen, who were situated more to the east. Arcesilaus persevered in pursuing them till he arrived at Leucon, and here the Libyans discovered an inclination to try the event of a battle. They accordingly engaged, and the Cyreneans were so effectually routed, that seven thousand of their men in arms, fell in the field. Arcesilaus, after this calamity, fell sick, and was strangled by

his brother Aliarchus, whilst in the act of taking some medicine. The wife of Arcesilaus, whose name was Eryxo[156], revenged by some stratagem on his murderer, the death of her husband.

CLXI. Arcesilaus was succeeded in his authority by his son Battus, a boy who was lame, and had otherwise an infirmity in his feet. The Cyreneans, afflicted by their recent calamities, sent to Delphi, desiring to know what conduct would most effectually secure their tranquillity. The Pythian in reply, recommended them to procure from Mantinea[157], in Arcadia, some one to compose their disturbances. Accordingly at the request of the Cyreneans, the Mantineans sent them Demonax, a man who enjoyed the universal esteem of his countrymen. Arriving at Cyrene, his first care was to make himself acquainted with their affairs; he then divided the people into three distinct tribes: the first comprehended the

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156 *Eryxo.*]—The story is related at considerable length by Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Virtues of Women. Instead of Aliarchus, he reads Learchus; the woman he calls Eryxene: and the murderer he supposes to have been not the brother, but the friend of Arcesilaus.—*T.*

157 *Mantinea.*]—This place became celebrated by the death of Epaminondas, the great Theban General, who was here slain.—*T.*

According to Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 22. the Mantineans were celebrated for their excellent Laws.

Thereans and their neighbours; the second the Peloponnesians and Cretans; the third all the inhabitants of the islands. He assigned a certain portion of land, with some distinct privileges, to Battus: but all the other advantages which the kings had before arrogated to themselves, he gave to the power of the people.

CLXII. Things remained in this situation during the life of Battus: but in the time of his son, an ambitious struggle for power was the occasion of great disturbances. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus, by Pheretime, refused to submit to the regulations of Demonax the Mantinean, and demanded to be restored to the dignity of his ancestors. A great tumult was excited, but the consequence was, that Arcesilaus was compelled to take refuge at Samos, whilst his mother Pheretime fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Euelthon had at this time the government of Salamis: the same person who dedicated at Delphi, a most beautiful censer now deposited in the Corinthian treasury. To him, Pheretime made application, intreating him to lead an army against Cyrene, for the purpose of restoring her and her son. He made her many presents, but refused to assist her with an army. Pheretime accepted his liberality with thanks, but endeavoured to convince him that his assisting her with forces would be much more honourable. Upon

her persevering in this request, after every present she received, Euelthon was at length induced to send her a gold spindle, and a distaff with wool; observing, that this was a more suitable present for a woman than an army.

CLXIII. In the mean time Arcesilaus was indefatigable at Samos; by promising a division of lands, he assembled a numerous army: he then sailed to Delphi, to make inquiry concerning the event of his return. The Pythian made him this answer:—"To four Batti[158], and to "the same number of the name of Arcesilaus, "Apollo has granted the dominion of Cyrene. "Beyond these eight generations the deity forbids "even the attempt to reign: to you it is recom- "mended to return, and live tranquilly at home. "If you happen to find a furnace filled with "earthen vessels, do not suffer them to be baked, "but throw them into the air; if you set fire "to the furnace, beware of entering a place "surrounded by water. If you disregard this "injunction, you will perish yourself, as will also "a very beautiful bull."

158 *To four Batti.*]—According to the Scholiast on Pindar, the Battiades reigned at Cyrene for the space of two hundred years. Battus, son of the last of these, endeavoured to assume the government, but the Cyreneans drove him from their country, and he retired to the Hesperides, where he finished his days.—*Larcher.*

CLXIV. The Pythian made this reply to Arcesilaus: he, however, returned to Cyrene with the forces he had raised at Samos; and having recovered his authority, thought no more of the oracle. He proceeded to institute a persecution against those who, taking up arms against him, had compelled him to fly. Some of these sought and found a refuge in exile, others were taken into custody and sent to Cyprus, to undergo the punishment of death. These the Cnidians delivered, for they touched at their island in their passage, and they were afterwards transported to Thera; a number of them fled to a large tower, the property of an individual named Aglomachus, but Arcesilaus destroyed them, tower and all, by fire. No sooner had he perpetrated this deed than he remembered the declaration of the oracle, which forbade him to set fire to a furnace* filled with earthern vessels; fearing therefore to suffer for what he had done, he retired from Cyrene, which place he considered as surrounded by water. He had married a relation, the daughter of Alazir, king of Barce, to him therefore he went; but upon his appearing in public, the Barceans, in conjunction with some Cyrenean

* The explanation of the destruction of the furnace filled with earthen vessels is easy enough, but we hear nothing of the beautiful bull. Perhaps there might be some affinity in the name of Alazir.

fugitives, put him to death, together with Alazir his father-in-law. Such was the fate of Arcesilaus, he having, designedly or from accident, violated the injunctions of the oracle.

CLXV. Whilst the son was thus hastening his destiny at Barce, Pheretime[159], his mother, enjoyed at Cyrene, the supreme authority; and among other regal acts presided in the senate. But as soon as she received intelligence of the death of Arcesilaus, she sought refuge in Ægypt. Her son had some claims upon the liberality of Cambyses, son of Cyrus; he had delivered Cyrene into his power, and paid him tribute. On her arrival in Ægypt, she presented herself before Aryandes in the character of a suppliant, and besought him to revenge her cause, pretending that her son had lost his life, merely on account of his attachment to the Medes.

CLXVI. The Aryandes had been appointed præfect of Ægypt by Cambyses; but afterwards, presuming to rival Darius, he was by him put to death. He had heard, and indeed he had seen, that Darius was desirous to leave some monument of himself, which should exceed all the

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159 *Pheretime.*]—See this story well related in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, book viii. c. 47.—*T.*

efforts of his predecessors. He thought proper to attempt somewhat similar, but it cost him his life. Darius had issued a coin [160] of the very purest

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160 *Darius had issued a coin.*]— "About the same time seem to have been coined those famous pieces of gold called Darics, which by reason of their fineness were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout the east: for we are told that the author of this coin was not Darius Hystaspes, as some have imagined, but a more ancient Darius. But there is no ancienter Darius mentioned to have reigned in the east, excepting only this Darius, whom the Scripture calls Darius the Median; and therefore it is most likely he was the author of this coin, and that during the two years that he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was absent on his Syrian, Ægyptian, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity of gold which had been brought thither into the treasury; from hence it became dispersed all over the east, and also into Greece, where it was of great reputation: according to Dr. Bernard, it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but the fineness added much more to its value; for it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least very little alloy in it; and therefore may be well reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to be worth twenty-five shillings of our money. In those parts of the Scripture which were written after the Babylonish captivity, these pieces are mentioned by the name of Adarkonim; and in the Talmudists, by the name of Darkoneth, both from the Greek Δαρεικοι, Darics. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold which were afterwards coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian but also of the Macedonian race, were all called Darics, from the Darius who was the first author

gold: the præfect of Ægypt issued one of the purest silver, and called it an Aryandic. It may

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of them. And there were either whole Darics or half-Darics, as with us there are guineas and half-guineas."—*Prideaux.*

The above note from Prideaux contains much which is exceptionable and erroneous; what follows will perhaps be found to contain all that is necessary to elucidate the subject.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, being the first sovereign who coined gold in Persia, the coins which he struck were called, after his name, Darics, in the same manner as the gold coins of Philip, the father of Alexander, were called Philips,—

Rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
Hor. Epist. lib. ii. 1, 233.

Herodotus is himself an evidence, that the Darics were made of pure gold, and he is confirmed in that point by the testimony of Julius Pollux: Καὶ οἱ δαρεικοὶ, ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦδε ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἀκριβωθέντες εἰς κάθαρσιν τοῦ χρυσίου. Lib. iii. c. xi. The type of these coins represented an archer, as may be gathered from the following witticism, said to have been used by Agesilaus: Τοῦ δὲ Περσικοῦ νομίσματος χάραγμα τοξότην ἔχοντος, ἀναζενγνύων ἔφη, Τρισμυρίοις τοξόταις ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐξελαύνεσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας· τοσούτων γὰρ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Θήβας κομισθέντων διὰ Τιμοκράτους χρυσῶν δαρεικῶν καὶ διαδοθέντων τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς, ἐξεπολεμώθησαν οἱ δῆμοι πρὸς τὰς Σπαρτιάτας. *Plutarch, Apophth. Lacon.* xl. The Daric was equivalent in value to the Attic χρυσὸς.—Εἰσὶ μὲν χρυσοῖ στατῆρες οἱ Δαρεικοὶ. ἠδύνατο δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ὀνομαζόμενος χρυσὸς. *Suidas, in voce* Δαρεικὸς. Harpocration records the same circumstance with respect to the Daric, which, it appears from the description given by both these writers,

still be seen, and is much admired for its purity. Darius hearing of this, condemned him to death, pretending that he had rebelled against him.

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was worth twenty drachms of silver. *Λέγουσι δέ τινες δύνασθαι τὸν Δαρεικὸν δραχμὰς ἀργυρίου εἴκοσι. Suidas. Λέγουσι δέ τινες δύνασθαι τὸν Δαρεικὸν ἀργυρᾶς δραχμὰς εἴκοσι. Harpocration.* To this account of the comparative value of the Daric and the Attic *χρυσὸς*, it may not be amiss to add that the former was a month's pay for a common soldier:—*Καὶ λέγει ὅτι δαρεικὸς ἑκάστῳ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός. Xenoph. Cyri Exped. lib.* vii. *p.* 242. *edit. Steph.* When we consider the immense number of Darics which were employed in presents and bribes alone, independent of the still greater quantity which the common purposes of traffic must have required in a kingdom so extensive and powerful as Persia, it is not a little extraordinary that so few of the coins should have been yet discovered. But it is probable, that, upon the conquest of Persia, many of them were melted down by the conqueror, and were recoined with the type of Alexander. Be this, however, as it may, very few of them, not more than five or six, are now known. The one in Lord Pembroke's collection is said to weigh 129 grains; and two in the highly valuable cabinet of R. P. Knight, Esq. weigh 128 grains each. As the two last coins are particularly fresh, their original weight can have been very little reduced. It appears, therefore, that the Daric approached very nearly to the weight of the Attic *χρυσὸς*, or Didrachm, which in high preservation is found to vary from 132 to 133 grains. And the difference of only three or four grains between the weight of the Persian Daric and the Attic *χρυσὸς*, sufficiently confirms what has been observed of these coins in the passages above cited from Suidas and Harpocration.

With respect to the silver coins of Aryandes, who was appointed a prefect in Egypt by Cambyses, it is necessary to observe, that most of the money current at that time in

CLXVII. At this time Aryandes, taking compassion on Pheretime, delivered to her command all the land and sea forces of Ægypt. He entrusted to Amasis a Maraphian, the conduct of the army; and Badre, a Pasargadian by birth, had the direction of the fleet. Before however they proceeded on any expedition, a herald was dispatched to Barce, demanding the name of the person who had assassinated Arcesilaus. The Barceans replied, that they were equally concerned, for he had repeatedly injured them all. Having received this answer, Aryandes permitted his forces to proceed with Pheretime.

Egypt was Persian, and that therefore we must look for the coins of Aryandes among the coins of the country, which Aryandes represented. Among the coins of this description, is one which immediately offers itself as most likely to be the same, as that to which Herodotus alludes. It has an indented mark on one side, and an archer on the other, like the Daric, from which it only differs in the metal of which it is made, being silver instead of gold. Three of these coins are in Dr. Hunter's collection: one of them weighs 79 grains, and the two others 81 grains each. The coins are mentioned by Hesychius: *Ἀροανδικὸν νόμισμα, ᾧ χρῶνται Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ Ἀροάνδου,* (read *Ἀρνανδικὸν* and *Ἀρνάνδου*). Herodotus is not the only author who speaks of the purity of these coins; for Aryandic silver was an expression employed many ages afterwards to signify silver of the utmost fineness,—*Ἄργυρος καθαρὸς, ἐκκεκαθαρμένος, Ἀροανδικὸν ἀργύριον,* (read *Ἀρνανδικὸν*): *Jul. Pollux, lib.* iii. *c.* 11. *Ἄργυρος καθαρὸς, διαφανὴς, Αρνανδικὸς, οὐχ ὑπόχαλκος*: *Jul. Pollux, lib.* vii. *c.* 23.

CLXVIII. This was the pretence with Aryandes for commencing hostilities: but I am rather inclined to think that he had the subjection of the Libyans in view.—The nations of Libya are many and various; few of them had ever submitted to Darius, and most of them held him in contempt. Beginning from Egypt, the Libyans are to be enumerated in the order following:—The first are the Adyrmachidæ,† whose manners are in every respect Ægyptian; their dress is Libyan. On each leg, their wives wear a ring of brass. They suffer their hair to grow; if they catch any fleas upon their bodies, they first bite

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* At this place, Herodotus abruptly leaves his narrative, to give a description of Libya, which is continued to c. 200.

† *Adyrmachidæ.*]—It is well known, that in the age which followed, the Greeks drove these Adyrmachidæ into the higher parts of Libya, and took possession of the sea-coast. When, therefore, Ptolemy describes the Adyrmachidæ as inhabiting the interior parts of Libya, there is no contradiction betwixt his account and that of Herodotus. The manners of this people are described by Herodotus, and they are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:

Versicolor contra cetra et falcatus ab arte
Ensis Adyrmachidæ ac lævo tegmina crure;
Sed mensis asper populus, victuque maligno
Nam calida tristes epulæ torrentur arena.—
L. iii. 278.

They are again mentioned by the same author, book ix. 223, 224.

—— ferro vivere lætum
Vulgus Adyrmachidæ.

and then throw them away.* They are the only people of Libya who do this. It is also peculiar to them, to present their daughters to the king just before their marriage[162], who may enjoy the persons of such as are agreeable to him. The Adyrmachidæ occupy the country between Ægypt and the port of Pleunos.

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* The Hottentots do more; they eat them, and justify the disgusting practice on the principle of the law of retaliation. Why not, say they, eat those who eat us?

[162] *Before their marriage.*] — A play of Beaumont and Fletcher is founded upon the idea of this obscene and unnatural custom. The following note is by Mr. Theobald upon the "Custom of the Country," *Beaumont and Fletch.* 1778.

The custom on which a main part of the plot of this comedy is built, prevailed at one time, as Bayle tells us, in Italy, till it was put down by a prudent and truly pious cardinal. It is likewise generally imagined to have obtained in Scotland for a long time; and the received opinion hath hitherto been, that Eugenius, the third king of Scotland, who began his reign A. D. 535, ordained that the lord or master should have the first night's lodging with every woman married to his tenant or bondsman. This obscene ordinance is supposed to have been abrogated by Malcolm the third, who began his reign A. D. 1061, about five years before the Norman Conquest, having lasted in force somewhat above five hundred years.—See Blount, in his Law Dictionary, under the word Mercheta. Another commentator remarks, that Sir David Dalrymple denies the existence of this custom in Scotland.—Judge Blackstone is of opinion that this custom never prevailed in England, but that it certainly did in Scotland.

It is singular, says Rennell, that a custom should have been introduced here (Britain) which was too barbarous to obtain among more than one of the African tribes; and that

CLXIX. Next to these are the Giligammæ*, who dwell towards the west as far as the island of Aphrodisias. In the midst of this region is the island of Platea, which the Cyreneans colonized. The harbour of Menelaus and Aziris†, possessed

a privilege reserved for the king alone there, should be extended to every superior lord here, in the quarter where the custom prevailed. It is impossible to place the base servility of some of our ancestors in a more striking point of view. P. 608.—My friend here forgets that these ancestors were a conquered people, and compelled to submit to whatever the conqueror imposed. All absurd and cruel tenures sprung from this source.

Concerning the Mercheta Mulierum, see the judicious Dissertation of Lord Hailes, at the end of the first volume of his Annals of Scotland.—Consult also vol. 57. p. 384 of the Gentleman's Magazine.

* Here, says Rennell, there must be a mistake, because a great part of the fertile and cultivated district of Cyrenaica would otherwise be allotted to a Nomadic tribe. Possibly the island of Drepanum, near Derna, might be meant.

† See the Hymn of Callimachus to Apollo, verse 89, where this place is written Αζιλις.

Herodotus in this place speaks of two islands, inhabited by the Giligammæ, Platea, and Aphrodisias; it is not certain whether the first of these is what Ptolemy called Ædonis; the second was afterwards named Læa, and was, according to Scylax, a good harbour for ships.

The country of the Giligammæ produced a species of the silphium, called by the Latins laserpiticum, from which a medical drug was extracted: see Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 3: "In the country of the Cyrene (where the best silphium grew) none of late years has been found, the farmers turning their cattle into the places where it grew: one stem only has been found in my time; this was sent as a present to Nero."

also by the Cyreneans, is upon the continent. Silphium[163] begins where these terminate, and is continued from Platea to the mouth of the Syrtes[164]. The manners of these people nearly resemble those of their neighbours.

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163 *Silphium.*]—Either M. Larcher or myself must be grossly mistaken in the interpretation of this passage. "The plant Silphium," says his version, "begins in this place to be found, and is continued," &c. This in my opinion neither agrees with the context, nor is in itself at all probable. In various authors, mention is made of the Silphii, and reference is made by them to this particular passage of Herodotus.—*T.* See chapter cxcii. of this book, where Silphium is distinctly mentioned as a place.—Upon more serious reflection I am induced to adhere to the opinion I have before expressed, that Herodotus intends to speak of a place, and not a plant.

What this Silphium was, botanists are not determined. We learn from Johannes Boukerius and others, that the plant deposited a resin, which, being pulverized, was administered as a corroborant and aromatic. The coins also of Cyrene were distinguished by the plant Silphium. One of these coins is engraved, and appears in Pennant's Quadrupeds, vol. ii. p. 166; and in Haym's Tesauro Britannico.—The Silphium was held in such high veneration, that a leaf of it was suspended in the temple of Apollo.

164 *Syrtes.*]—The Great Syrtes must be here meant, which is in the neighbourhood of Barce, and nearer Egypt than the Small Syrtes.—*Larcher.*

There were the Greater and the Lesser Syrtes, and both deemed very formidable to navigators. Their nature has never been better described than in the following lines from Lucan, which I give the reader in Rowe's version:

When nature's hand the first formation try'd,
When seas from lands she did at first divide,

The

CLXX. From the west, and immediately next to the Giligammæ, are the Asbystæ.* They are

The Syrts, not quite of sea nor land bereft,
A mingled mass uncertain still she left;
For nor the land with sea is quite o'erspread,
Nor sink the waters deep their oozy bed,
Nor earth defends its shore, nor lifts aloft its head;
The scite with neither, and with each complies,
Doubtful and inaccessible it lies;
Or 'tis a sea with shallows bank'd around,
Or 'tis a broken land with waters drown'd:
Here shores advanc'd o'er Neptune's rule we find,
And there an inland ocean lags behind.
Thus nature's purpose, by herself destroy'd,
Is useless to herself, and unemploy'd,
And part of her creation still is void.
Perhaps, when first the world and time began,
Her swelling tides and plenteous waters ran;
But long confining on the burning zone,
The sinking seas have felt the neighbouring sun:
Still by degrees we see how they decay,
And scarce resist the thirsty god of day.
Perhaps, in distant ages 'twill be found,
When future suns have run the burning round,
These Syrts shall all be dry and solid ground;
Small are the depths their scanty waves retain,
And earth grows daily on the yielding main.

It should be added, that Herodotus speaks only of one Syrtes, as of one Oasis. The Lesser Syrtes was his Lake of Tritonis. For a variety of curious particulars on the subject of the Syrtes, the Lake and River Tritonis, I must refer the reader to Major Rennell's book, p. 646.

Pliny says that the Nasamones were called Mesamones by the Greeks, as being situated between two quicksands—*Augila* or Augela. This place has undergone no change of name since the time of Herodotus.

* Pliny places the Asbystæ, as well as the Masæ or Macæ,

above Cyrene, but have no communication with the sea-coasts, which are occupied by the Cyreneans: Beyond all the Libyans, they are remarkable for their use of chariots drawn by four horses *, and in most respects they imitate the manners of the Cyreneans.

CLXXI. On the western borders of this people, dwell the Auschisæ; their district commences above Barce †, and is continued to the sea, near the Euesperides ‡. The Cabales §, an inconsider-

to the west of the Nasamones, and of course is at variance with our author's description: but Strabo, with more probability, says; After the Nasamones, who are situated at the Greater Syrtes and beyond Cyrene, are the Psylli, Gætuli, and Garamantes.—*Rennell*, p. 609.

* This custom of harnessing four horses to a chariot was confessedly borrowed of the Africans by the Greeks.

† *Barce.*]—Many of the ancients believed that this place was anciently called Ptolemais, as Strabo, Pliny, Servius, and others.

Of Cyrene, about which Strabo speaks less fabulously than Herodotus, but few traces now remain; they are differently mentioned under the names of Keroan, Curin, and Guirina.

‡ *Euesperides.*] —This city was afterwards named Berenice; of this appellation some vestiges now remain, for the place is called Bernic, Berbic, and by some Beric.

The fertility of the contiguous country gave rise to the Grecian fable of the gardens of the Hesperides.

§ This word is sometimes written Bacales; and Wesseling hesitates what reading to prefer.

What Herodotus says of the Nasamones, c. 173, is confirmed by Pliny, Nat. Hist. vii. c. 2; Silius Italicus, i. 408; Lucan, ix. 439. &c.

Concerning

able nation, inhabit towards the centre of the Auschisæ, and extend themselves to the sea-coast near Tauchira*, a town belonging to Barce. The Cabales have the same customs as the people beyond Cyrene.

CLXXII. The powerful nation of the Nasamones border on the Auschisæ towards the west. This people during the summer season leave their cattle on the sea-coast, and go up the country to a place called *Augila* to gather dates. Upon this spot, the palms are equally numerous, large, and fruitful: they also hunt for locusts[165], which

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Concerning their manner of plighting troth, c. 172, Shaw tells us, that the drinking out of each other's hands is the only ceremony which the Algerines at this time use in marriage.

The story which Herodotus relates of the Psylli, 173. is told also by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. 16—11. It seems more probable that they were destroyed by the Nasamones.—See Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 1.—See also Hardouin ad Plin. and Larcher, vii. 312.

Concerning *τα Ιρασα*, called by Herodotus, 158, *καλλιστος των χωρων*, see Callimach. Hymn to Apollo, 88, 89.

Quære, says Rennell, whether these Cabales are not the Kabyles of Shaw?

* *Tauchira.*]—Called by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, Teuchira; afterwards it was known by the name of Arsinoë, and lastly by Antony it was named Cleopátris, in honour of Cleopatra: in modern times it has been called Teukera (d'Anville); Trochare (de la Croix); Trochara (Hardouin); Tochara (Simlenus); Trochata (Dapper).

165 *Locusts.*]—The circumstance of locusts being dried and kept for provision, I have before mentioned: the fol-

having dried in the sun, they reduce them to a powder, and eat mixed with milk. Each person is allowed to have several wives, with whom they cohabit in the manner of the Massagetæ, first fixing a staff in the earth before their tent. When the Nasamones marry*, the bride on the first night permits every one of the guests to enjoy her person, each of whom makes her a present brought with him for the purpose. Their mode of divination and of taking an oath is this: they place their hands on the tombs [166] of those who have

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lowing apposite passage having since occurred to me from Niebuhr, I think proper to insert it:

On vendit dans tous les marchés des sauterelles à vil prix: car elles etoient si prodigieusement repandues dans la plaine près de Jerim, qu'on pouvoit les prendre à pleines mains. Nous vimes un paysan qui en avoit rempli un sac, et qui alloit les secher pour sa provision d'hyver.

The people of the coast do exactly the same thing at this day. I have before mentioned that Hornemann during his travels eat of dried locusts, which he particularly describes.

* This resemblance of manners in nations so remote from each other as the Massagetæ, the Nasamones, and the Tyrrhenians, ought, says Larcher, to make us cautious of imputing the same origin to nations, merely from their having some customs in common.

[166] *On the Tombs.*]—The following remark from Niebuhr seems particularly applicable in this place:—it is singular as being said by a Catholic, who was in the habit of doing the same thing every day:

Un marchand de la Mecque me fit sur ses saints une réflection, qui me surprit dans la bouche d'une Mahométan. "Il faut toujours à la populace," me dit-il, "un objet visible qu'elle puisse honorer et craindre. C'est ainsi qu'al a

been most eminent for their integrity and virtue, and swear by their names. When they exercise divination, they approach the monuments of their ancestors, and there, having said their prayers, compose themselves to sleep. They regulate their subsequent conduct by such visions as they may then have *. When they pledge their word, they drink alternately from each other's hands [167]. If no liquid is near, they take some dust from the ground, and lick it with their tongue.

Mecque tous les sermens se sont au nom de Mahomet, au lieu qu'on devroit s'adresser à Dieu. A Molcha je ne me fierois pas à un homme qui affirmeroit une chose en prenant Dieu à temoin; mais je pourrois compter plutôt sur la foi de celui qui jureroit par le nom de Schaedeli, dont la mosquée et le tombeau sont sous ses yeux."

* This reminds us of the following passage in Virgil:

Huc dona sacerdos
Cum tulit, et cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit;
Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum
Colloquio, atque imis Acheronta affatur avernis.
Æn. 7. v. 86.

See also Tertullian, De Anima:

Nasamenas propria oracula apud parentum sepulcra mansitando usitare ut Heraclides scribit, vel Nymphodorus, vel Herodotus. Et Celtas apud virorum fortium busta eâdem de causâ abnoctare, ut Lisander affirmat.

167 *Each other's hands.*]—The ancient ceremony of the Nasamones to drink from each other's hands, in pledging their faith, is at the present period the only ceremony observed in the marriages of the Algerines.—*Shaw.*

CLXXIII. Next to the Nasamones are the Psylli [168], who formerly perished by the following

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[168] *The Psylli.*]—A measure like this would have been preposterous in the extreme. Herodotus therefore does not credit it: "I only relate," says he, "what the Africans inform me," which are the terms always used by our historian when he communicates any dubious matter. It seems very probable that the Nasamones destroyed the Psylli to possess their country, and that they circulated this fable amongst their neighbours.—See *Pliny*, book vii. chapter 2. —*Larcher.*

Herodotus makes no mention of the quality which these people possessed, and which in subsequent times rendered them so celebrated, that of managing serpents with such wonderful dexterity.—See Lucan, book ix. Rowe's excellent version, line 1523.

> Of all who scorching Afric's sun endure,
> None like the swarthy Psyllians are secure.
> Skill'd in the lore of powerful herbs and charms,
> Them, nor the serpent's tooth nor poison harms;
> Nor do they thus in arts alone excel,
> But nature too their blood has temper'd well,
> And taught with vital force the venom to repel.
> With healing gifts and privileges grac'd,
> Well in the land of serpents were they plac'd:
> Truce with the dreadful tyrant, Death, they have,
> And border safely on his realm, the grave.

See also Savary, vol. i. p. 63.

"You are acquainted with the Psylli, these celebrated serpent-eaters of antiquity, who sported with the bite of vipers, and the credulity of the people. Many of them inhabited Cyrene, a city west of Alexandria, and formerly dependent on Ægypt. You know the pitiful vanity of Octa-

accident: A south wind had dried up all their reservoirs, and the whole country, as far as the Syrtes, was destitute of water. They resolved accordingly, after a public consultation, to make a hostile expedition against this south wind; the consequence was (I only relate what the Africans inform me) that on their arrival in the deserts, the south wind overwhelmed them beneath the sands. The Psylli being thus destroyed, the Nasamones took possession of their lands*.

CLXXIV. Beyond these to the south, in a country infested by savage beasts, dwell the Garamantes [169], who avoid every kind of communi-

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vius, who wished the captive Cleopatra should grace his triumphal car; and, chagrined to see that proud woman escape by death, commanded one of the Psylli to suck the wound the aspic had made. Fruitless were his efforts; the poison had perverted the whole mass of blood, nor could the art of the Psylli restore her to life." See also Rennell, p. 614-15.

* Pliny says, and with greater probability, that the Psylli perished by the hands of the Nasamones.

169 *Garamantes.*]—These people are said to have been so named from Garamas, a son of Apollo.—See Virgil, vi. 794.

Supra Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium. *T.*

The Garamantes are now well understood to mean the ancient inhabitants of Fezzan, which by Pliny is called Phazania. The ruins of Garama, their capital, are still shewn.

Mentioned by Mela, book viii. and by him called Gamphasantes.

cation with men, are ignorant of the use of all military weapons, and totally unable to defend themselves.

CLXXV. These people live beyond the Nasamones; but towards the sea-coast westward are the Macæ[170]. It is the custom of this people to leave a tuft of hair in the centre of the head, carefully shaving the rest. When they make war, their only coverings are the skins of ostriches. The river Cinyps rises among them in a hill, said to be sacred to the Graces, whence it continues its course to the sea. This hill of the Graces is well covered with trees; whereas the rest of Africa, as I have before observed, is very barren of wood. The distance from this hill to the sea, is two hundred stadia.

CLXXVI. The Gindanes * are next to the

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170 *Macæ.*]—These people are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:

Tum primum castris Phœnicum tendere ritu
Cinyphiis didicere Macæ, squallentia barbâ
Ora viris, humerosque tegunt velamina capri. *T.*

Pliny confirms this position of the Macæ or Masæ.

Amongst these people was the fountain of Cinyps, called by Strabo and Ptolemy Κινυφος, by Pliny Cinyps; its modern name, according to d'Anville, is Wadi-Quaham.

* *Gindanes.*]—This region, by geographical position, must be Gadamis, the Cydamus of the Romans.

This people, according to Stephanus, lived on the lotus, as well as the Lotophagi.

Macæ. Of the wives of this people it is said that they wear as many bandages round their ancles as they have known men. The more of these each possesses, the more she is esteemed, as having been beloved by the greater number of the other sex.

CLXXVII. The neck of land which stretches from the country of the Gindanes towards the sea, is possessed by the Lotophagi, who live entirely upon the fruit of the lotos. The lotos is of the size of the mastick, and sweet like the date; and the Lotophagi* make of it a kind of wine.

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* If, says Rennell, we take the whole extent of the tract thus assigned to the Lotophagi and Machlyes, it may comprehend 200 miles of coast.

But the allotment of this confined space alone, to the eaters of lotos, was owing to the want of a more extended knowledge of the countries that bordered on the Desert; for it will be found that the tribes who inhabit them, and whose habits are in any degree known to us, eat universally of this fruit, in a greater or less degree, according to circumstances, and most of them apparently as much as they can obtain of it. The tree or shrub that bears the lotos fruit, is disseminated over the edge of the Great Desert, from the coast of Cyrene, round by Tripoly and Africa Proper, to the borders of the Atlantic, to Senegal, and the Niger.

What Rennell says farther on the subject of the lotos at p. 626, & seq. is very curious, and well deserves attention.

The following is from Park, p. 99:

The lotos is very common in all the kingdoms which I visited, but is found in the greatest plenty on the sandy soil

CLXXVIII. Towards the sea, the Machlyes* border on the Lotophagi. They also feed on the lotos; though not so entirely as their neighbours. They extend as far as a great stream called the Triton, which enters into an extensive lake named Tritonis, in which is the island of Phla. An

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of Kaarta, Ludamor, and the northern parts of Bombarra, where it is one of the most common shrubs of the country. I had observed the same species at Gambia, and had an opportunity to make a drawing of a branch in flower.

As this shrub is found in Tunis, and also in the negro kingdoms, and as it furnishes the natives of the latter with a food resembling bread, and also with a sweet liquor, which is much relished by them, there can be little doubt of its being the lotos mentioned by Pliny, as the food of the Libyan Lotophagi. An army may very well have been fed with the bread I have tasted, made of the meal of the fruit, as is said by Pliny to have been done in Libya; and as the taste of the bread is sweet and agreeable, it is not likely that the soldiers would complain of it.

Whether from the same lotos the Lotophagi obtained both meat and wine, is laboriously disputed by Vossius and Scyll. 114. and Stapel. ad Theophrast. l. iv. c. 4. p. 327. A delineation of the lotos may be seen in Shaw and De la Croix: it is what the Arabs of the present day call seedra, and is plentiful in Barbary, and the deserts of Barbary.

* *Machlyes.*]—There were a people of this name also in Scythia; the name, however, is written different ways. See Wesseling ad Herod. 178.

The river Triton is the same with that now called Gabs.—See Shaw.

Stephanus Byzantinus confounds the Phla of Herodotus with the island of Phila, which was in Æthiopia, not far from Ægypt.—See also Shaw on this island, 129, 4to edit.

oracular declaration, they say, had foretold that some Lacedæmonians should settle themselves here.

CLXXIX. The particulars are these: when Jason had constructed the Argo at the foot of Mount Pelion, he carried on board a hecatomb for sacrifice, with a brazen tripod: he sailed round the Peleponnese, with the intention to visit Delphi. As he approached Malea, a north wind drove him to the African coast [171], and before he could discover land, he got amongst the shallows of the lake of Tritonis: not being able to extricate himself from this situation, a Triton [172] is said to have appeared to him, and

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[171] *To the African coast.*]—"Some references to the Argonautic expedition," says Mr. Bryant, "are interspersed in most of the writings of the ancients; but there is scarce a circumstance concerning it in which they are agreed. In respect to the first setting out of the Argo, most make it pass northward to Lemnos and the Hellespont; but Herodotus says that Jason first sailed towards Delphi, and was carried to the Syrtic sea of Libya, and then pursued his voyage to the Euxine. Neither can the æra of the expedition be settled without running into many difficulties."—See the *Analysis*, vol. ii. 491.

[172] *A Triton.*]—From various passages in the works of Lucian, Pliny, and other authors of equal authority, it should seem that the ancients had a firm belief of the existence of Tritons, Nereids, &c. The god Triton was a distinct personage, and reputed to be the son of Neptune and the nymph of Salacia; he was probably considered as su-

to have promised him a secure and easy passage, provided he would give him the tripod. To this Jason assented, and the Triton having fulfilled his engagement, he placed the tripod in his temple, from whence he communicated to Jason and his companions what was afterwards to happen. Among other things, he said, that whenever a descendant of these Argonauts should take away this tripod, there would be infallibly an hundred Grecian cities near the lake of Tritonis [173]. The Africans, hearing this prediction, are said to have concealed the tripod.

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preme of the Tritons, and seems always to have beem employed by Neptune for the purpose of calming the ocean.

> Mulcet aquas rector Pelagi, supraque profundum
> Exstantem atque humeros innato murice tectum
> Cæruleum Tritona vocat, cunctæque sonaci
> Inspirare jubet fluctusque et flumina signo
> Jam revocare dato, &c.—*Metamorph.* l. 334. *T.*

[173] *Lake Tritonis.*]—From this lake, as we are told in some very beautiful lines of Lucan, Minerva took her name of Tritonia.—See book ix. 589; Rowe's version:

> And reach in safety the Tritonian lake.
> These waters to the tuneful god are dear,
> Whose vocal shell the sea-green Nereids hear.
> These Pallas loves, so tells reporting fame;
> Here first from heaven to earth the goddess came,
> Here her first footsteps on the brink she staid,
> Here, in the watery glass, her form survey'd,
> And call'd herself, from hence, the chaste Tritonian maid. *T.*

The lake of Tritonis is now evidently filled up. See Ren-

CLXXX. Next to the Machlyes live the Ausenses*. The above two nations inhabit the opposite sides of lake Tritonis. The Machlyes suffer their hair to grow behind the head, the Ausenses before. They have an annual festival in honour of Minerva, in which the young women, dividing themselves into two separate bands, engage each other with stones and clubs. These rites, they say, were instituted by their forefathers, in veneration of her, whom we call Minerva; and if any one die in consequence of wounds received in this contest, they say that she was no virgin. Before the conclusion of the fight, they observe this custom: she who by common consent fought the best, has a Corinthian helmet placed upon her head, is clothed in Grecian armour, and carried in a chariot round the

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nell's observations on this subject. The gulph of the sea with which it communicated, is the lesser Syrtes of Strabo; the Gulph of Kabes or Gabbs of the present time.

* Of the name Ausenses, says Rennell, we find no traces in modern geography. Of the Machlyes and Maxyes we meet with several names that have some similarity. The Machryes of Ptolemy occupy the space between Gephes, perhaps the Gaffsa of Shaw and Jovis Mons; *i.e.* a mountain to the N.N.E of the lake Tritonis. His Machyni are placed towards the Gulph of Adrumentum. These may possibly be meant for the Machlyes and Maxyes of Herodotus. The Machres of Leo, and Makaress of Dr. Shaw, certainly agree to the supposed position of a part of the Maxyes.—*Rennell*, p. 637.

lake. How the virgins were decorated in this solemnity, before they had any knowledge of the Greeks, I am not able to say; probably they might use Ægyptian arms. We may venture to affirm, that the Greeks borrowed from Ægypt the shield and the helmet. It is pretended that Minerva was the daughter of Neptune, and the divinity of the lake Tritonis; and that from some trifling disagreement with her father, she put herself under the protection of Jupiter, who afterwards adopted her as his daughter. The connection of this people with their women is promiscuous, not confining themselves to one, but living with the sex in brutal licentiousness. Every three months [174] the men hold a public assembly, before which, each woman who has had a strong healthy boy, produces him, and the man whom he most resembles is considered as his father.

CLXXXI. The Libyans who inhabit the sea-coast, are called Nomades. The more inland parts of Libya, beyond these, abound with wild

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174 *Every three months.*]—This preposterous custom brings to mind one, described by Lobo, in his voyage to Abyssinia, practised by a people whom he calls the Galles, a wandering nation of Africans. If engaged in any warlike expedition, they take their wives with them, but put to death all the children who may happen to be born during the excursion. If they settle quietly at home, they bring up their children with proper care.—*T.*

beasts; remoter still, is one vast sandy desert, from the Ægyptian Thebes to the columns of Hercules [175]. Penetrating this desert to the space of a ten days journey, vast pillars of salt are discovered, from the summits of which, flows a stream of water equally cool and sweet. This district is possessed by the last of those, who inhabit the deserts beyond the centre and ruder parts of Libya. The Ammonians*, who possess

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175 *Columns of Hercules.*]—In a former note upon the columns of Hercules, I omitted to mention that more anciently, according to Ælian, these were called the columns of Briareus. This is also mentioned by Aristotle. But when Hercules had, by the destruction of various monsters, rendered essential service to mankind, they were, out of honour to his memory, named the columns of Hercules.—*T.*

* On the subject of the Ammonians, the reader will do well to consult Rennell, Browne's Travels in Africa, and Hornemann. It appears singular that Herodotus should not mention the distance of the temple from Thebes or Memphis; but I think there can be no doubt of its precise situation having been ascertained by Browne.

Bochart derives the name of Ammonians from Cham, the son of Noah, who was long reverenced in the more barren parts of Africa, under the title of Ham or Hammon, one of the names of Jupiter.

That the name of Ammon was very well known in Arabia, and throughout Africa, we may learn from the river Ammon, the Ammonian promontory, the Ammonians, the city Ammon, &c.—See Strabo; Pliny, Ptolemy, &c.

Some remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon are still to be seen, if the travellers to Mecca may be believed; the place is called Hesach-bir (or mole lapidum).

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the temple of the Theban Jupiter, are the people nearest from this place to Thebes, from which they are distant a ten days journey. There is an image of Jupiter at Thebes, as I have before remarked, with the head of a goat.—The Ammonians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm, as the day advances it chills, and at noon becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point, they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines, its coldness diminishes; at sun-set, it is again warm, and its warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is called the fountain of the sun [176].

In the same chapter Herodotus mentions ἡ κρηνη Ηλιου, the fountain of the sun, concerning which see Diodorus, xvii. 528. —See also Arrian, l. iii. c. 4.—Curtius, l. iv. c. 7.—Mela, l. i. c. 8.

176 *Fountain of the Sun.*]—Diodorus Siculus describes this fountain nearly in the same terms with Herodotus. It is thus described by Silius Italicus:

Stat fano vicina, novum et memorabile, lympha
Quæ nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit,
Quæque riget medium cum Sol accendit Olympum
Atque eadem rursus nocturnis fervet in umbris.

Herodotus does not tell us that the Ammonians venerated this fountain; but as they called it the fountain of the Sun, it is probable that they did. In remoter times, men almost universally worshipped streams and fountains, if distin-

CLXXXII. Passing onward beyond the Ammonians, into the desert for ten days more, another hill of salt [177] occurs; it resembles that which is found amongst the Ammonians, and has a spring of water; the place is inhabited, and called Augila*, and here the Nasamones come to gather their dates.

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guished by any peculiar properties; all fountains were originally dedicated to the sun, as to the first principle of motion.—*T.*

[177] *Hill of salt.*]—I find the following description of the plain of salt, in Abyssinia, in Lobo's Voyage: "These plains are surrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds, which the sun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into salt. Nothing can be more curious, than to see the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock, so exact, and of such admirable contrivance, that they seem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyssinia are continually resorting, to carry salt into all parts of the empire, which they set a great value upon, and which in their country is of the same use as money."

See what Rennell observes on these hills of salt, p. 641; and also Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 228.

It appears that scarcely any country whatsoever contains so much salt on its surface as that region of Africa which borders on the Mediterranean.

What Herodotus affirms on the saline quality of the soil of Africa, is confirmed also by Pliny and Strabo.

* *Augilæ.*]—Herodotus says that this country abounded in dates; and the Africans of the present day go there to gather them.—See *Marmot*, vol. iii. p. 53.

Concerning the situation of the Augilæ, see Pliny, lib. v. c. 4; and Dapper, p. 323.

Amongst

CLXXXIII. At another ten days distance from the Augilæ, there is a second hill of salt with water, as well as a great number of palms, which, like those before described, are exceedingly productive: this place is inhabited by the numerous nation of the Garamantes; they cover the beds of salt with earth, and then plant it. From them to the Lotophagi is a very short distance; but from these latter, it is a journey of thirty days to that nation among whom is a species of oxen*, which walk backwards whilst they are feeding; their horns [178] are so formed that they cannot do otherwise, they are so long before, and curved in such a manner, that if they

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Amongst all the countries of Libya, mentioned by the ancient Greek writers, Augilæ is the only one which to this day retains its primitive name without the smallest variation.

* Of the cattle, which whilst they grazed walked backwards, Mela speaks, lib. i. c. 8.—Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 45.—Aristotle, History of Animals, lib. vii. c. 21.—See also Vossius ad Melæ loc. p. 41.

178 *Their horns.*]—In the British Museum is a pair of horns six feet six inches and a half long, it weighs twenty-one pounds, and the hollow will contain five quarts; Lobo mentions some in Abyssinia which would hold ten; Dallon saw some in India ten feet long: they are sometimes wrinkled, but often smooth.—*Pennant.*

Pliny, book xi. chap. 38, has a long dissertation upon the horns of different animals; he tells us that the cattle of the Troglodytæ, hereafter mentioned, had their horns curved in so particular a manner, that when they fed they were obliged to turn their necks on one side.—*T.*

did not recede as they fed, they would stick in the ground; in other respects they do not differ from other animals of the same genus, unless we except the thickness of their skins. These Garamantes, sitting in carriages drawn by four horses, give chace to the Æthiopian Troglodytæ [179], who, of all the people in the world of whom we have ever heard, are far the swiftest of foot: their food is lizards, serpents, and other reptiles; their language bears no resemblance to that of any other nation, for it is like the screaming of bats.

CLXXXIV. From the Garamantes, it is another ten days journey to the Atlantes, where also is a hill of salt with water. Of all mankind of whom we have any knowledge, the Atlantes [180]

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179 *Troglodytæ.*] — These people have their names from τρωγλη, a cave, and δυω, to enter; Pliny says they were swifter than horses; and Mela relates the circumstance of their feeding upon reptiles. I cannot omit here noticing a strange mistake of Pliny, who, speaking of these people, says, "Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Æthiopum secundum flumen Astapum ad septentrionem vergentem;" as if ad septentrionem vergentem could possibly be applicable to any situation in Æthiopia. I may very properly add in this place, that one of the most entertaining and ingenious fictions that was ever invented, is the account given by Montesquieu in his Persian Letters of the Troglodytes.—*T.*

180 *Atlantes.*] — Concerning the reading of this word,

alone have no distinction of names; the body of the people are termed Atlantes, but their individuals have no appropriate appellation: when the sun is at the highest, they heap upon it reproaches and execrations, because their country and themselves are parched by its rays. At the same distance onward, of a ten days march, another hill of salt occurs, with water and inhabitants: near this hill stands mount Atlas, which at every approach is uniformly round and steep; it is so lofty that, on account of the clouds which in summer as well as winter envelope it, its summit can never be discerned; it is called by the inhabitants a pillar of heaven. From this mountain the people take their name of Atlantes*: it

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learned men have been exceedingly divided; Valknaer, and from him also M. Larcher, is of opinion that mention is here made of two distinct nations, the Atarantes and the Atlantes; but all the peculiarities enumerated in this chapter are, by Pliny, Mela, and Solinus, ascribed to the single people of the Atlantes. There were two mountains, named Atlas Major and Atlas Minor, but these were not at a sufficient distance from each other to solve the difficulty.—*T.*

* There are doubts about the true reading of this word. Major Rennell suggests a suspicion whether it may not be the same with the Hamamentes and Amantes of Pliny and Solinus.

Herodotus has certainly misplaced these people; for, according to his own account, the Lotophagi and Machlyes ought to have lain beyond them.

Some manuscripts read Atlantes; but this cannot be the

is said of them, that they never feed on any thing which has life, and that they know not what it is to dream.

CLXXXV. I am able to call by name all the different nations as far as the Atlantes, but beyond these I have no knowledge. There is, however, from hence, an habitable country, as far as the columns of Hercules, and even beyond it. At the regular interval of a ten days journey, there is a bed of salt, and inhabitants whose houses are formed from masses of salt[181]. In this part of Libya it never rains, for if it did, these structures of salt could not be durable; they have here two sorts of salt, white and purple[182]. Be-

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genuine reading, which also is the opinion of Salmasius, Valknaer, Wesseling, and Larcher.—See Vossius ad Melæ, locum laudatum.

The Atlantei, mentioned by Diodorus, l. iii. 187, if ever they existed, must be distinct from the Atlantes of Herodotus. Of Mount Atlas, and its extreme height, Homer speaks, Odyss. i. 52, 4.

181 *Masses of salt.*]—Gerrha, a town on the Persian Gulph, inhabited by the exiled Chaldeans, was built of salt: the salt of the mountain Had-deffa, near lake Marks, in Africa, is hard and solid as a stone.—*Larcher.*

182 *Salt, white and purple.*]—Had-deffa is a mountain entirely of salt, situate at the eastern extremity of lake Marks, or lake Tritonis of the ancients; this salt is entirely different from salts in general, being hard and solid as a stone, and of a red or violet colour: the salt which the dew d

yond this sandy desert, southward, to the interior parts of Libya, there is a vast and horrid space without water, wood, or beasts, and totally destitute of moisture.

CLXXXVI. Thus from Ægypt, as far as lake Tritonis, the Libyans lead a pastoral life, living on flesh and milk, but, like the Ægyptians, will neither eat bulls flesh nor breed swine. The women of Cyrene also esteem it impious to touch an heifer, on account of the Ægyptian Isis, in whose honour they solemnly observe both fast-days and festivals. The women of Barce abstain not only from the flesh of heifers, but of swine.

CLXXXVII. The Libyans, to the west of lake Tritonis, are not shepherds, they are distinguished by different manners, neither do they observe the same ceremonies with respect to their children. The greater number of these Libyan shepherds follow the custom I am about to

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solves from the mountain changes its colour, and becomes white as snow; it loses also the bitterness which is the property of rock salt.—*See Shaw's Travels.*

One of the most curious phenomena in the circle of natural history, is the celebrated salt-mine of Wielitska in Poland, so well described by Coxe: the salt dug from this mine is called green salt: "I know not," says Mr. Coxe, "for what reason, for its colour is an iron-grey."—*See Travels into Poland.*

describe, though I will not say it is the case indiscriminately with them all:—As soon as their children arrive at the age of four years, they burn the veins either of the top of the scull, or of the temples, with uncleansed wool: they are of opinion, that by this process all watery humours are prevented[183]; and to this they impute the excellent health which they enjoy. It must be acknowledged, whatever may be the cause, that the Libyans are more exempt from disease than any other men.—If the operation throws the children into convulsions, they have a remedy at hand; they sprinkle them with goats urine[184], and they recover.—I relate what the Libyans themselves affirm.

CLXXXVIII. As to their mode of sacrifice,

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183 *Watery humours are prevented.*]—According to Hippocrates, the Scythians apply fire to their shoulders, arms, and stomachs, on account of the humid and relaxed state of their bodies; this operation dries up the excess of moisture about the joints, and renders them more free and active. Wesseling remarks from Scaliger, that this custom still prevails amongst the Æthiopian Christians, Mahometans, and Heathens.—*Larcher.*

184 *Goats urine.*]—I have heard of cows urine being applied as a specific in some dangerous obstructions; and I find in Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia an account of goats urine being recommended in an asthmatic complaint; their blood was formerly esteemed of benefit in pleurisies, but this idea is now exploded.—*T.*

having cut the ear of the victim which they intend as an offering for their first fruits, they throw it over the top of their dwelling, and afterwards break its neck: the only deities to whom they sacrifice, are the sun and moon, who are adored by all the Libyans; they who live near lake Tritonis venerate Triton, Neptune, and Minerva, but particularly the last.

CLXXXIX. From these Libyans, the Greeks borrowed the vest, and the Ægis, with which they decorate the shrine of Minerva; the vests, however, of the Libyan Minervas, are made of skin, and the fringe hanging from the Ægis is not composed of serpents, but of leather; in every other respect the dress is the same: it appears by the very name, that the robe of the statues of Minerva was borrowed from Libya. The women [185] of this country wear below their garments goat-skins without the hair, fringed, and stained of a red colour; from which part of dress the

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185 *The women.*]—Apollonius Rhodius, who was an exact observer of manners, thus describes the three Libyan heroines who appeared to Jason.—See Fawkes's version:

Attend, my friends:—Three virgin forms, who claim
From heaven their race, to sooth my sorrows came;
Their shoulders round were shaggy goat-skins cast,
Which low descending girt their slender waist.

Upon the whole, the account given by Herodotus of Africa is extremely interesting, and proves that he knew more of its north coast than we do at present.

word Ægis[186] of the Greeks is unquestionably derived. I am also inclined to believe, that the loud cries[187] which are uttered in the temples of that goddess, have the same origin; the Libyan women do this very much, but not disagreeably. From Libya also the Greeks borrowed the custom of harnessing four horses to a carriage.

CXC. These Libyan Nomades observe the same ceremonies with the Greeks in the interment of the dead; we must except the Nasamones, who bury their deceased in a sitting attitude, and are particularly careful, as any one approaches his end, to prevent his expiring in a reclined posture. Their dwellings are easily moveable, and are formed of the asphodel shrub, secured with rushes.—Such are the manners of these people.

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[186] *Ægis.*]—From αιξ αιγος, a goat, the Greeks made αιγις αιγιδος, which signifies both the skin of a goat, and the Ægis of Minerva.

[187] *Loud cries.*]—See Iliad vi. 370. Pope's version.

Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,
And awful reach the high Palladian dome,
Antenor's consort, fair Theano, waits
As Pallas' priestess, and unbars the gates;
With hands uplifted, and imploring eyes,
They fill the dome with *supplicating cries.*

In imitation of which, M. Larcher remarks, Virgil uses the expression of summoque ululârunt vertice nymphæ.

CXCI. The Ausenses, on the western part of the river Triton, border on those Libyans who cultivate the earth, and have houses, and are called Maxyes: these people suffer their hair to grow on the right side of the head, but not on the left; they stain their bodies with vermilion, and pretend to be descended from the Trojans. This region, and indeed all the more western parts of Libya, is much more woody, and more infested with wild beasts, than that where the Libyan Nomades reside; for the abode of these latter, advancing eastward, is low and sandy. From hence westward, where those inhabit who till the ground, it is mountainous, full of wood, and abounding with wild beasts; here are found serpents of an enormous size, lions, elephants, bears [188], asps, and asses with horns. Here also are the Cynocephali, as well as the Acephali [189],

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[188] *Bears.*]—Pliny pretends that Africa does not produce bears, although he gives us the annals of Rome, testifying that in the consulship of M. Piso, and M. Messala, Domitius Ænobarbus gave during his ædileship public games, in which were an hundred Numidian bears.

Lipsius affirms, that the beasts produced in the games of Ænobarbus, were lions, which is the animal also meant by the Lybistis ursa of Virgil: "The first time," says he, "that the Romans saw lions, they did not call them lions, but bears." Virgil mentions lions by its appropriate name in an hundred places; Shaw also enumerates bears amongst the animals which he found in Africa.—*Larcher.*

[189] *Cynocephali as well as the Acephali.*]—Herodotus men-

who, if the Libyans may be credited, have their eyes in their breasts; they have, moreover, men

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tions a nation of this name in Libya, and speaks of them as a race of men with the heads of dogs. Hard by, in the neighbourhood of this people, he places the Acephali, men with no heads at all; to whom, out of humanity, and to obviate some very natural distresses, he gives eyes in the breast; but he seems to have forgot mouth and ears, and makes no mention of a nose. Both these and the Cynocephali were denominated from their place of residence, and from their worship; the one from Cahen-Caph-El, the other from Ac-Caph-El, each of which appellations is of the same import, the right noble or sacred rock of the sun.—*Bryant.*

See also the speech of Othello in Shakespeare;

> Wherein of antres vast and desarts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heav'n,
> It was my hint to speak, such was my process;
> And of the cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi: and men whose heads
> Did grow beneath their shoulders. *T.*

The Cynocephali, whom the Africans considered as men with the heads of dogs, were a species of baboons, remarkable for their boldness and ferocity. As to the Acephali, St. Augustin assures us, that he had seen them himself of both sexes. That holy father would have done well to have considered, that in pretending to be eye-witness of such a fable he threw a stain on the veracity of his other works. If there really be a nation in Africa which appear to be without a head, I can give no better account of the phænomenon, than by copying the ingenious author of Philosophic Researches concerning the Americans:

"There is," says he, "in Canibar, a race of savages who

and women who are wild and savage; and many ferocious animals whose existence cannot be disputed.[190]

CXCII. Of the animals above mentioned

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have hardly any neck, and whose shoulders reach up to the ears. This monstrous appearance is artificial, and to give it to their children, they put enormous weights upon their heads, so as to make the vertebræ of the neck enter (if we may so say) the channel-bone (clavicule). These barbarians, from a distance, seem to have their mouth in the breast, and might well enough, in ignorant or enthusiastic travellers, serve to revive the fable of the Acephali, or men without heads."—The above note is from Larcher; who also adds the following remark upon the preceding note, which I have given from Mr. Bryant.

Mr. Bryant, imagining that these people called themselves Acephali, decomposes the word, which is purely Greek, and makes it come from the Ægyptian Ac-Caph-El, which he interprets "the sacred rock of the sun." The same author, with as much reason, pretends that Cynocephali comes from Cahen-Caph-El, to which he assigns a similar interpretation: here, to me at least, there seems a vast deal of erudition entirely thrown away.

In the fifth century, the name of Acephali was given to a considerable faction of the Monophysites, or Eutychians, who by the submission of Mongus were deprived of their leader.—*T.*

Apollonius Rhodius calls these people ἡμικυνες, or half dogs: and it is not improbable but that the circumstance of their living entirely by the produce of the chace, might give rise to the fable of their having the heads of dogs.—*T.*

[190] *Cannot be disputed.*]—The discretion of Herodotus is here very apparent. He relates what the Libyans told him, but by no means vouches for the authenticity of these tales.

none are found amongst the Libyan Nomades; they have however pygargi[191], goats, buffaloes, and asses, not of that species which have horns, but a particular kind which never drink. They have also oryxes[192] of the size of an ox, whose

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[191] *Pygargi.*]—Aristotle classes the pygargus amongst the birds of prey; but as Herodotus in this place speaks only of quadrupeds, it is probable that this also was one. Hardouin makes it a species of goat.—Thus far Larcher. Ælian also ranks it amongst the quadrupeds, and speaks of its being a very timid animal.—See also Juvenal, Sat. xi. 138.

Sumine cum magno, lepus atque aper, atque pygargus.

See also Deuteronomy, chap. xiv. verse 5. "The hart and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois."

It is without doubt the white antelope, which is very common at the Cape.

[192] *Oryxes.*]—Pliny describes this animal as having but one horn; Oppian, who had seen it, says the contrary. Aristotle classes it with the animals having but one horn. Bochart thinks it was the aram, a species of gazelle; but Oppian describes the oryx as a very fierce animal.—The above is from *Larcher.*

The oryx is mentioned by Juvenal, Sat. xi. 140.

Et Gætulus oryx:

And upon which line the Scholiast has this remark:

Oryx animal minus quàm bubalus quem Mauri uncem vocant, cujus pellis ad citoras proficit scuta, Maurorum minora.—From the line of Juvenal above mentioned, it appears that they were eaten at Rome, but they were also introduced as a ferocious animal in the amphitheatre. See Martial, xiii. 95.

Matutinarum non ultima præda ferarum
Sævus oryx, constat quot mihi mute canum.

That

horns are used by the Phœnicians to make the sides of their citharæ. In this region likewise there are bassaria [193], hyenas, porcupines, wild boars, dictyes [194], thoes [195], panthers, boryes [196],

That it was an animal well known and very common in Africa, is most certain; but, unless it be what Pennant describes under the name of the leucoryx, or white antelope, I confess I know not what name to give it.—*T.*

193 *Bassaria.*]—Ælian makes no mention of this animal, at least under this name. Larcher interprets it foxes, and refers the reader to the article *βασσαρις*, in Hesychius, which we learn was the name which the people of Cyrene gave to the fox.—*T.*

194 *Dictyes.*]—I confess myself totally unable to find out what animal is here meant.

195 *Thoes.*]—Larcher is of opinion that this is the beast which we call a jackall, which he thinks is derived from the Arabian word *chatall.* He believes that the idea of the jackall's being the lion's provider is universally credited in this country; but this is not true. The science of natural history is too well and too successfully cultivated amongst us to admit of such an error, except with the most ignorant. I subjoin what Shaw says upon this subject.

The black cat (scyah ghush) and the jackall, are generally supposed to find out provision or prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's provider; yet it may very much be doubted, whether there is any such friendly intercourse between them. In the night, indeed, when all the beasts of the forest do move, these, as well as others, are prowling after sustenance; and when the sun ariseth, and the lion getteth himself away to his den, both the black cat and the jackall have been often found gnawing such carcasses as the lion is supposed to have fed upon the night before. This,

196 For this note see the next page.

land crocodiles[197] three cubits long, resembling lizards, ostriches, and small serpents, having each a single horn. Besides these animals, they have such as are elsewhere found, except the stag and the boar[198], which are never seen in Africa. They have also three distinct species of mice, some of which are called dipodes[199], others are

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and the promiscuous noise which I have heard the jackall particularly make with the lion, are the only circumstances I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion.—*T.*

196 *Boryes.*]—Of this animal I can find no account in any writer, ancient or modern.

197 *Land crocodiles.*]—or Κροκοδειλος χερσαιος, so called in contradistinction from the river crocodile, which by way of eminence was called Κροκοδειλος only.—*T.*

198 *Boar.*]—This animal must have been carried to Africa since the time of Herodotus, for it is now found there: according to Shaw, it is the chief food and prey of the lion, against which it has sometimes been known to defend itself with so much bravery, that the victory has inclined to neither side, the carcasses of them both having been found lying the one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces.—*Shaw.*

199 *Dipodes.*]—Shaw is of opinion that this is the jerboa of Barbary. "That remarkable disproportion," observes this writer, "betwixt the fore and hinder legs of the jerboa, or διπους, though I never saw them run, but only stand or rest themselves upon the latter, may induce us to take it for one of the διποδες, or two-footed rats, which Herodotus and other writers describe as the inhabitants of these countries, particularly (του Σιλφιου) of the province of Silphium." Accordingly Mr. Pennant has set down the μυς διπους of Theophrastus and Ælian among the synonyma of the jerboa.—*Hist. of An.* p. 427. No. 291.

called zegeries, which in the African tongue has the same meaning with the Greek word for hills. The other species is called the echines. There is moreover to be seen a kind of weazel in Silphium*, very much like that of Tartessus. The above are all the animals amongst the Libyan Nomades, which my most diligent researches have enabled me to discover.

CXCIII. Next to the Maxyes are the Zauæces†, whose women guide the chariots of war.

CXCIV. The people next in order are the Zygantes, amongst whom a great abundance of honey is found, the produce of their bees; but of this they say a great deal more is made by the natives[200]. They all stain their bodies with ver-

* See what I observed on this subject before. I cannot help thinking that the herb was named from the place, and not the place from the herb.

† There are no traces in modern geography to be found of this nation. We must suppose them, says Rennell, to have occupied the space between the lesser Syrtis and the Gulph of Adumertum, since the Zygantes or Zugantes were the next beyond them. These are unquestionably the Zengitarians of Pliny.

200 *Made by the natives.*]—"I do not see," says Reiske on this passage, "how men can possibly make honey. They may collect, clarify, and prepare it by various processes for use, but the bees must first have made it."

I confess

milion, and feed upon monkies, with which animal their mountains abound*.

CXCV. According to the Carthaginians, we next meet with an island called Cyranis† two hundred stadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is easy, and it abounds with olives and vines. Here is a lake, from which the young women of the island draw up gold-dust[201] with bunches of feathers besmeared with pitch. For the truth of this I will not answer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it seems the more pro-

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I confess I see no such great difficulty in the above. There were various kinds of honey, honey of bees, honey of the palm, and honey of sugar, not to mention honey of grapes; all the last of which might be made by the industry of man. —See Lucan:

Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine succos.—*T.*

See Shaw's Travels, p. 339.

* Here Herodotus concludes his account of the different tribes of Libyans which inhabited the sea-coast.

† *Cyranis.*]—The islands of Querkiness, or Kerkiness, the Cercina and Cercinites of the ancient geographers, must here be intended.

The same with the Cercinna of Strabo, now called Querqueni, or Chercheni; concerning this island consult Diodorus, l. v. 294; but Diodorus, we should remark, confounded Cercinna with Cerne, an island of the Atlantic.

201 *Gold dust.*]—See a minute account of this in Achilles Tatius.—*T.*

bable, after having seen at Zacynthus [202] pitch drawn from the bottom of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largest of which is seventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two orgyiæ. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a bunch of myrtle: the pitch attaches itself to the myrtle, and is thus procured. It has a bituminous smell, but is in other respects preferable to that of Pieria [203].

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[202] *Zacynthus.*]—The modern name of this place is Zante. Its tar-springs, to use the words of Chandler, are still a natural curiosity deserving notice.

The tar is produced in a small valley about two hours from the town, by the sea, and encompassed with mountains, except toward the bay, in which are a couple of rocky islets. The spring which is most distinct and apt for inspection, rises on the farther side near the foot of the hill. The well is circular, and four or five feet in diameter. A shining film, like oil mixed with scum, swims on the top: you remove this with a bough, and see the tar at the bottom, three or four feet beneath the surface, working up, it is said, out of a fissure in the rock; the bubbles swelling gradually to the size of a large cannon-ball; when they burst, and the sides leisurely sinking, new ones succeed, increase, and in turn subside. The water is limpid, and runs off with a smart current: the ground near is quaggy, and will shake beneath the feet, but is cultivated. We filled some vessels with tar, by letting it trickle into them from the boughs which we immersed, and this is the method used to gather it from time to time into pits, where it is hardened by the sun, to be barrelled when the quantity is sufficient. The odour reaches a considerable way. See Chandler's Travels.—See also Antigonus Carystus, p. 169, and Vitruvius, l. viii. c. 3.

[203] *That of Pieria.*]—This was highly esteemed. Didymus

The pitch is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpose by the side of the lake; and when a sufficient quantity has been obtained, they put it up in casks. Whatever falls into the lake passes under ground, and is again seen in the sea, at the distance of four stadia from the lake. Thus what is related of this island contiguous to Libya, seems both consistent and probable.

CXCVI. We have the same authority of the Carthaginians to affirm, that beyond the columns of Hercules * there is a country inhabited by a people with whom they have had commercial intercourse [204]. It is their custom, on arriving

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says that the ancients considered that as the best which came from Mount Ida; and next to this, the tar which came from Pieria. Pliny says the same.—*Larcher.*

* *Columns of Hercules.*]—The Libyan column was by ancient writers called Abyla; that on the Spanish side, Calpe. *See P. Mela*, l. ii. c. 6.

This Libyan column is by the sailors called Ape's Hill. This is mentioned by John Haickel in the 10th century, under the same name, or very nearly.

204 *Commercial intercourse.*]—It must be mentioned to the honour of the western Moors, that they still continue to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations bordering upon the river Niger, without seeing the persons they trade with, or without having once broken through that original charter of commerce which from time immemorial has been settled between them. The method is this: at a certain time of the year, in the winter, if I am not mistaken, they

among them, to unload their vessels, and dispose their goods along the shore. This done, they again embark, and make a great smoke from on board. The natives, seeing this, come down immediately to the shore, and placing a quantity of gold by way of exchange for the merchandize, retire. The Carthaginians then land a second time, and if they think the gold equivalent, they take it and depart; if not, they again go on board their vessels. The inhabitants return and add more gold, till the crews are satisfied. The whole is conducted with the strictest integrity, for neither will the one touch the gold till they have left an adequate value in merchandize, nor will the other remove the goods till the Carthaginians have taken away the gold *.

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make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissors, and such like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, they find in the evening several different heaps of gold-dust lying at a small distance from each other, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians the next morning approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets and leave the gold-dust, or else make some deduction from the latter. In this manner they transact their exchange without seeing one another, or without the least instance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either side.—*Shaw.*

Wadstrom relates the same story.

* The following curious fact is taken from the relation of Commodore Stewart's Embassy to Mequinez in 1721:

The

CXCVII. Such are the people of Libya whose names I am able to ascertain; of whom the greater part cared but little for the king of the Medes, neither do they now. Speaking with all the precision I am able, the country I have been describing is inhabited by four nations only; of these, two are natives, and two strangers. The natives are the Libyans and Ethiopians; one of whom possess the northern, the other the southern parts of Africa. The strangers are the Phœnicians and the Greeks.

CXCVIII. If we except the district of Cinyps*, which bears the name of the river flowing through it, Libya in goodness of soil cannot, I think, be compared either to Asia or Europe. Cinyps is totally unlike the rest of Libya, but is equal to any country in the world for its corn.

The method of trading in some of these parts is very extraordinary, for they do not see the persons they trade with, but passing over a little river, leave their salt at the accustomed place, and retire. Then the people take the salt, and put into the same pot as much gold as they judge it worth, which if the Moors approve of, they take it away; otherwise they set the pot on edge, and retire again, and afterwards find either more gold, or their salt returned.

See also a similar account of a commercial intercourse between those who inhabit the banks of the Niger, in Winterbottom's account of Sierra Leone.

* Pliny mentions a region of the name of Cinyps. Ptolemy calls this place Neapolis. Herodotus mentions the Cinyps again in the next book, c. 42.

It is of a black soil, abounding in springs, and never troubled with drought. It rains in this part of Africa, but the rains, though violent, are never injurious. The produce of corn is not exceeded by Babylon itself. The country also of the Euesperidæ is remarkably fertile; in one of its plentiful years it produces an hundred fold; that of Cinyps three hundred fold.

CXCIX. Of the part of Libya possessed by the Nomades, the district of Cyrene * is the

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* *Cyrene.*]—About the limits of this district the ancients were not at all agreed, they are no where defined by Herodotus: the province of Cyrene, formerly so populous, is the contrary now; the sea-coasts are ravaged by pirates, the inland parts by the Arabians; such inhabitants as there are, are rich by the sale of the Europeans, who fall into their hands, to the Æthiopians.—*See La Croix*, tom. ii. 252.

Of the abundant fertility of Cyrene, Diodorus Siculus also speaks, p. 183, c. cxxviii.—Concerning the fountain of Cyre, one of the Fontes Cyrenaicæ, see Callimachus's Ode to Apollo, 88; and Justin, lib. xiii. c. 7.

Concerning the Asbystæ, of whom Herodotus speaks, c. 170, 171, Salmasius has collected much, ad Solinum, 381; so also has Eustathius, ad Dionys. Perieg. 211.—See too Larcher, vol. vii. 43.

Of the people with whom the Carthaginians traded, beyond the columns of Hercules, without seeing them, I have spoken at length, and given from Shaw the passage introduced by Schlichthorst. The place, whose name is not mentioned by Herodotus, is, doubtless, what we now call Senegambia. All the part of Libya described by Herodotus

most elevated. They have three seasons, which well deserve admiration: the harvest and the vintage first commence upon the sea-coast; when these are finished, those immediately contiguous, advancing up the country, are ready; this region they call Buni. When the requisite labour has been here finished, the corn and the vines in the more elevated parts are found to ripen in progression, and will then require to be cut. By the time therefore that the first produce of the earth is consumed, the last will be ready. Thus for eight months in the year the Cyreneans are employed in reaping the produce of their lands.

CC. The Persians who were sent by Aryandes to avenge the cause of Pheretime, proceeding from Egypt to Barce, laid siege to the place, having first demanded the persons of those who had been accessary to the death of Arcesilaus. To this the inhabitants, who had all been equally concerned in destroying him, paid no attention. The Persians, after continuing nine months before the place, carried their mines to the walls, and made a very vigorous attack. Their mines were discovered by a smith, by means of a brazen shield. He made a circuit of the town; where

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is now comprehended under the general name of Barbary, and contains the kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli: the maritime part of Libya, from Carthage westward, was unknown to Herodotus.

there were no miners beneath, the shield did not reverberate, which it did wherever they were at work. The Barceans therefore dug countermines, and slew the Persians so employed. Every attempt to storm the place was vigorously defeated by the besieged.

CCI. After a long time had been thus consumed, with considerable slaughter on both sides, (as many being killed of the Persians as of their adversaries) Amasis, the leader of the infantry, employed the following stratagem:—Being convinced that the Barceans were not to be overcome by any open attacks, he sunk in the night a large and deep trench: the surface of this he covered with some slight pieces of wood, then placing earth over the whole, the ground had uniformly the same appearance. At the dawn of the morning he invited the Barceans to a conference; they willingly assented, being very desirous to come to terms. Accordingly they entered into a treaty, of which these were the conditions: it was to remain valid [205] as long as the earth upon which the agreement was made should

[205] *It was to remain valid.*]—Memini similem fœderis formulam apud Polybium legere in fœdere Hannibalis cum Tarentinis, si bene memini.—*Reiske.*

Reiske's recollection appears in this place to have deceived him. Tarentum was betrayed to Hannibal by the treachery of some of its citizens; but in no manner resembling this here described by Herodotus.—*T.*

retain its present appearance. The Barceans were to pay the Persian monarch a certain reasonable tribute; and the Persians engaged themselves to undertake nothing in future to the detriment of the Barceans. Relying upon these engagements, the Barceans, without hesitation, threw open the gates of their city, going out and in themselves without fear of consequences, and permitting without restraint such of the enemy as pleased to come within their walls. The Persians, withdrawing the artificial support of the earth, where they had sunk a trench, entered the city in crowds; they imagined by this artifice that they had fulfilled all they had undertaken, and were brought back to the situation in which they were mutually before. For in reality, this support of the earth being taken away, the oath they had taken became void.

CCII. The Persians seized and surrendered to the power of Pheretime such of the Barceans as had been instrumental in the death of her son. These she crucified on different parts of the walls; she cut off also the breasts of their wives, and suspended them in a similar situation. She permitted the Persians to plunder the rest of the Barceans, except the Battiadæ, and those who were not concerned in the murder. These she suffered to retain their situations and property.

CCIII. The rest of the Barceans being re-

duced to servitude, the Persians returned home. Arriving at Cyrene, the inhabitants of that place granted them a free passage through their territories, from reverence to some oracle. Whilst they were on their passage, Bares, commander of the fleet, solicited them to plunder Cyrene; which was opposed by Amasis, leader of the infantry, who urged that their orders were only against Barce. When, passing Cyrene, they had arrived at the hill of the Lycean Jupiter[206], they expressed regret at not having plundered it. They accordingly returned, and endeavoured a second time to enter the place; but the Cyreneans would not suffer them. Although no one attempted to attack them, the Persians were seized with such a panic, that, returning in haste, they encamped at a distance of about sixty stadia from the city. Whilst they remained here, a messenger came from Aryandes, ordering them to return. Upon this, the Persians made application to the Cyreneans for a supply of provisions; which being granted, they returned to Ægypt. In their march they were incessantly harassed by the Libyans for the sake of their clothes and utensils*. In

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206 *Lycean Jupiter.*]—Lycaon erected a temple to Jupiter in Parrhasia, and instituted games in his honour, which the Lyceans called Λυκαια. No one was permitted to enter this temple; he who did was stoned.—*Larcher.*

* It is hardly possible to read this passage without being reminded of Bonaparte's march from Alexandria to Rhamanie.—Exactly in this manner was he harassed by the Bedouins.

their progress to Ægypt, whoever was surprised or left behind was instantly put to death.

CCIV. The farthest progress of this Persian army was to the country of the Euesperidæ. Their Barcean captives they carried with them from Ægypt to king Darius, who assigned them for their residence a portion of land in the Bactrian district, to which they gave the name of Barce; this has within my time contained a great number of inhabitants.

CCV. The life, however, of Pheretime had by no means a fortunate termination. Having gratified her revenge upon the Barceans, she returned from Libya to Ægypt, and there perished miserably. Whilst alive, her body was destroyed by worms [207]: thus it is that the gods punish those who have provoked their indignation; and such also was the vengeance which Pheretime, the wife of Battus, exercised upon the Barceans.

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207 *Destroyed by worms.*]—This passage, with the reasoning of Herodotus upon it, cannot fail to bring to the mind of the reader the miserable end of Herod, surnamed the Great.

And he went down to Cæsarea, and there abode: and upon a set day Herod arrayed in royal apparel sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.—See Lardner's observations upon the above historical incident.—*T.*

HERODOTUS.

BOOK V.

TERPSICHORE.

CHAP. I.

HE Persians who had been left in Europe by Darius, under the conduct of Megabyzus, commenced their hostilities on the Hellespont with the conquest of the Perinthii [1], who had refused to acknowledge the authority of Darius, and had formerly been vanquished by the Pæonians [2]. This latter people, inhabiting the banks of the Strymon, had been induced by an oracle

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[1] *Perinthii.*]—Perinthus was first called Mygdonia, afterwards Heraclea, and then Perinthus.—*T.*

[2] *Pæonians.*]—As the ancients materially differed in opinion concerning the geographical situation of this people, it is not to be expected that I should speak decisively on the subject. Herodotus here places them near the river Strymon; Dio, near mount Rhodope; and Ptolemy, where the river Haliacmon rises. Pæonia was one of the names of Minerva, given her from her supposed skill in the art of medicine.—*T.*

to make war on the Perinthians: if the Perinthians on their meeting offered them battle, provoking them by name, they were to accept the challenge; if otherwise, they were to decline all contest. It happened accordingly, that the Perinthians marched into the country of the Pæonians *, and, encamping before their town, sent them three specific challenges, a man to encounter with a man, a horse with a horse, a dog with a dog. The Perinthians having the advantage in the two former contests, sung with exultation a song of triumph [3]; this the Pæonians conceived to be the purport of the oracle: "Now," they exclaimed, "the oracle will be fulfilled; this is

* This country, which comprehended the northern part of Macedonia towards Dardania, must of course have bordered on or near the upper part of the river Strymon, and also near mount Rhodope, which is a continuation of mount Hæmus to the west.

[3] *Song of triumph.*]—Larcher renders the passage "Sung the pæon," and subjoins this note: "Of this song there were two kinds; one was chanted before the battle, in honour of Mars; the other after the victory, in honour of Apollo; this song commenced with the words "Io Pæan." The allusion of the word Pæon to the name of the Pæonians, is obvious, to preserve which, I have rendered it "sung the Pæon."—The usage and application of the word Pæan, amongst the ancients, was various and equivocal: the composition of Pindar, in praise of all the gods, was called Pæan; and Pæan was also one of the names of Apollo. To which it may be added, that Pæan, being originally a hymn to Apollo, from his name Pæan, became afterwards extended in its use to such addresses to the other gods."

" the time for us." They attacked, therefore, the Perinthians, whilst engaged in their imaginary triumph, and obtained so signal a victory that few of their adversaries escaped.

II. Such was the overthrow which the Perinthians received, in their conflict with the Pæonians: on the present occasion they fought valiantly, in defence of their liberties, against Megabyzus, but were overpowered by the superior numbers of the Persians. After the capture of Perinthus, Megabyzus overran Thrace with his forces, and reduced all its cities and inhabitants under the power of the king: the conquest of Thrace had been particularly enjoined him by Darius.

III. Next to India, Thrace is of all nations the most considerable[4]: if the inhabitants were

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[4] *Most considerable.*]—Thucydides ranks them after the Scythians, and Pausanias after the Celtæ.—*Larcher.*

As this country is confined on the east and south by the sea, and on the north by the Danube, and as Macedonia and Pæonia are mentioned by Herodotus as distinct countries, the extent of Thrace, even allowing it to extend into Dardania and Mœsia, must be much more circumscribed than the idea of our author allows. It has however more extended limits in his Geography than in that of succeeding authors, and perhaps might have included most of the space along the south of the Danube, between the Euxine and Istria, meeting the borders of Macedonia, Pæonia, &c. on the

either under the government of an individual, or united among themselves, their strength would in my opinion render them invincible; but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation; but except the Getæ, the Trausi [5], and those beyond Crestona, they are marked by a general similitude of manners.

IV. Of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal, I have before spoken. The Trausi have a general uniformity with the rest of the Thracians, except in what relates to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead. On the birth of a child, he is placed in the midst of a circle of his relations, who lament aloud the evils which, as a human being, he must necessarily undergo, all of which they particularly enumerate [6]; but whenever any one dies, the body is

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south; and the Sigynæ might have occupied the N. W. quarter of the modern Servia, Bosnia, and Croatia.—*Rennell*, p. 44.

[5] *Trausi.*]—These were the people whom the Greeks called Agathyrsi.—*T.*

[6] *Particularly enumerate.*]—A similar sentiment is quoted by Larcher, from a fragment of Euripides, of which the following is the version of Cicero:—

> Nam nos decebat cœtum celebrantes domus
> Lugere, ubi esset aliquis in lucem editus
> Humanæ vitæ varia reputantes mala:

committed to the ground with clamorous joy, for the deceased, they say, delivered from his miseries, is then supremely happy.

V. Those beyond the Crestonians have these observances:—Each person has several wives; if the husband dies, a great contest commences amongst his wives, in which the friends of the deceased interest themselves exceedingly, to determine which of them had been most beloved.

At qui labores morte finisset graves,
Hunc omni amicos laude et lætitia exsequi,

See also on this subject Gray's fine Ode on a distant Prospect of Eton College:—

Alas, regardless of their doom,
The little victims play!
No sense have they of ills to come,
Nor care beyond to-day:
Yet see how all around 'em wait
The ministers of human fate,
And black Misfortune's baleful train!
Ah, shew them where in ambush stand,
To seize their prey, the murth'rous band!
Ah, tell them they are men!—
These shall the fury passions tear, &c.

Valerius Maximus, Pomponius Mela, and Solinus, have severally made mention of this custom of the Trausi.

See Spenser's Tears of the Muses:—

For all man's life me seems a tragedy,
Full of sad sights and sore catastrophe,
First coming to the world with weeping eye,
Where all his days like dolorous trophies
Are heaped with spoils of fortune and of fear,
And he at last laid forth on baleful bier.

She to whom this honour is ascribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then sacrificed by her nearest relation on the tomb of her husband[7], with whom she is afterwards buried: his

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7 *Tomb of her husband.*]—This custom was also observed by the Getæ: at this day, in India, women burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands, which usage must have been continued there from remote antiquity. Propertius mentions it:

Et certamen habent leti quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori;
Ardent victrices et flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.

Cicero mentions also the same fact. Larcher quotes the passage from the Tusculan Questions, of which the following is a translation:

"The women in India, when their husband dies, eagerly contend to have it determined which of them he loved best, for each man has several wives. She who conquers, deems herself happy, is accompanied by her friends to the funeral pile, where her body is burned with that of her husband; they who are vanquished depart in sorrow."—The civil code of the Indians, respecting this strange sacrifice, is to this effect: "It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse, unless she be with child, or that her husband be absent, or that she cannot get his turban or his girdle, or unless she devote herself to chastity and celibacy: every woman who thus burns herself shall, according to the decrees of destiny, remain with her husband in paradise for ever."—"This practice," says Raynal, "so evidently contrary to reason, has been chiefly derived from the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and of a future life: the hope of being served in the other world by the same persons who obeyed us in this, has been

other wives esteem this an affliction, and it is imputed to them as a great disgrace.

VI. The other Thracians have a custom of selling their children *, to be carried out of their country. To their young women they pay no regard, suffering them to connect themselves indiscriminately with men; but they keep a strict guard over their wives, and purchase them of their parents at an immense price. To have punctures on the skin[8] is with them a mark of

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the cause of the slave being sacrificed on the tomb of his master, and the wife on the corpse of her husband; but that the Indians, who firmly believed in the transmigration of souls, should give way to this prejudice, is one of those numberless inconsistencies which in all parts of the world degrade the human mind."—*See Raynal*, vol. i. 91. The remark, in the main, is just; but the author, I fear, meant to insinuate that practices contrary to reason naturally proceed from the doctrines he mentions; a suggestion which, though very worthy of the class of writers to which he belongs, has not reason enough in it to deserve a serious reply.—*T.*

* It is sincerely to be regretted, that the Chinese have not recourse to this custom to counteract their excessive population. But, unfortunately, instead of the remedy, the horrible practice of infanticide is so far countenanced by the police, that it is understood that in the metropolis of Pekin, no less than two thousand infants annually fall a sacrifice to the avarice or poverty of their parents.

[8] *Punctures on their skin.*]—If Plutarch may be credited, the Thracians in his time made these punctures on their wives, to revenge the death of Orpheus, whom they had murdered.

nobility; to be without these, is a testimony of mean descent: the most honourable life with them is a life of indolence; the most contemptible that of an husbandman. Their supreme delight is in war and plunder.—Such are their more remarkable distinctions.

VII. The gods whom they worship are Mars, Bacchus [9], and Diana: besides these popular gods, and in preference to them, their princes worship Mercury. They swear by him alone, and call themselves his descendants.

Phanocles agrees with this opinion, in his poem upon Orpheus, of which a fragment has been preserved by Stobæus. If this be the true reason, it is remarkable that what in its origin was a punishment, became afterwards an ornament, and a mark of nobility.—*Larcher.*

Of such great antiquity does the custom of tattaowing appear to have been, with descriptions of which, the modern voyages to the South Sea abound.—*T.*

Some antiquarians are of opinion that the staining of the skin of a blue colour, as practised by our ancestors, was nothing more than tattaowing. There was no occasion for woad, which is said to have been used for this purpose, as the mere punctures appear blue through the outer skin.

9 *Bacchus.*]—That Bacchus was worshipped in Thrace, is attested by many authors, and particularly by Euripides: in the Rœsus, attributed to that poet, that prince, after being slain by Ulysses, was transported to the caverns of Thrace by the muse who bore him, and becoming a divinity, he there declared the oracles of Bacchus. In the Hecuba of the same author, Bacchus is called the deity of Thrace. Some placed the oracle of Bacchus near mount Pangæa, others near mount Hæmus.—*Larcher.*

VIII. The funerals of their chief men are of this kind: For three days the deceased is publicly exposed; then having sacrificed animals of every description, and uttered many and loud lamentations, they celebrate a feast [10], and the body is finally either burned or buried. They afterwards raise a mound of earth [11] upon the spot, and cele-

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[10] *Celebrate a feast.*]—It appears from a passage in Jeremiah, that this mixture of mourning and feasting at funerals was very common amongst the Jews:—

"Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them.

"Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother.

"Thou shalt not also go into the house of feasting, to sit with them to eat and to drink."— xvi. 6, 7, 8.

The same custom is still observed in the countries of the East.—*T.*

[11] *Mound of earth.*]—Over the place of burial of illustrious persons, they raised a kind of tumulus of earth. This is well expressed in the "ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus," of Virgil.—*Larcher.*

The practice of raising barrows over the bodies of the deceased, was almost universal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans. Virgil alludes to it as usual in the times treated of in the Æneid. Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Persians. The Roman historians record that the same mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no less among the ancient Germans, and many other uncivilized nations.—See *Coxe's Travels through Poland*, &c.

brate games[12] of various kinds, in which each particular contest has a reward assigned suitable to its nature.

IX. With respect to the more northern parts of this region, and its inhabitants, nothing has been yet decisively ascertained. What lies beyond the Ister, is a vast and almost endless space. The whole of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the Sigynæ, a people who in dress resemble the Medes; their horses are low in stature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of five digits; they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their swiftness, for which reason carriages are here very common. The confines of this people extend almost to the Eneti[13] on the Adriatic. They call themselves a colony

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[12] *Celebrate games.*]—It is impossible to say when funeral games were first instituted. According to Pliny, they existed before the time of Theseus; and many have supposed that the famous games of Greece were in their origin funeral games. The best description of these is to be found in Homer and in Virgil. In the former, those celebrated by Achilles in honour of Patroclus; in the latter, those of Æneas in memory of his father.—*T.*

[13] *Eneti,*]—or rather Heneti, which aspirate, represented by the Æolic digamma, forms the Latin name Veneti. Their horses were anciently in great estimation. See the Hippolytus of Euripides, v. 230. Homer speaks of their mules.—*T.*

of the Medes[14]; how this could be, I am not able to determine, though in a long series of time it may not have been impossible. The Sigynæ are called merchants[15] by the Ligurians, who lived beyond Massilia: with the Cyprians, Sigynæ is the name for spears.

Some contradiction is certainly here involved.—May it not be suspected, says Rennell, that the sentence respecting the country beyond the Danube, is misplaced altogether, and that the author intended to say, that the Sigynæ inhabited the northern part of Thrace, which lay however on the South or Grecian side of the Danube.

Signia, Major Rennell observes, is a position in ancient geography on the Adriatic, towards the ancient seats of the Veneti. Quere, has it any connexion with the Sigynæ of Herodotus?

[14] *Colony of the Medes.*]—Strabo says that this people observed in a great measure the customs of the Persians: thus the people whom Herodotus calls Medes, might be considered as genuine Persians, according to his custom of confounding their names, if Diodorus Siculus had not decided the matter.

[15] *Called merchants.*]—The whole of this sentence Larcher omits, giving as his opinion, that it was inserted by some Scholiast in the margin, and had thence found its way into the text. For my part, I see no reason for this; and I think the explication given by the Abbé Bellanger, in his Essais de Critique sur les Traduct. d'Herodote, may fairly be accepted. "Herodotus means, says he, to inform his reader, that Sigynæ is not an unusual word; the Ligurians use it for merchants, the Cyprians for spears."—But if this be true, the following version by Littlebury, must appear absurd enough: "The Ligurians," says he, "who inhabit beyond Marseilles, call the Sigynes brokers; and the Cyprians give them the name of javelins."—*T.*

X. The Thracians affirm that the places beyond the Ister are possessed wholly by bees, and that a passage beyond this is impracticable. To me this seems altogether impossible, for the bee is an insect known to be very impatient of cold [16]; the extremity of which, as I should think, is what renders the parts to the north uninhabitable. The sea-coast of this region was reduced by Megabyzus under the power of Persia.

XI. Darius having crossed the Hellespont, went immediately to Sardis, where he neither forgot the service of Histiæus, nor the advice of Coës of Mitylene. He accordingly sent for these two persons, and desired them to ask what they would. Histiæus, who was tyrant of Miletus, wished for no accession of power; he merely

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[16] *Impatient of cold.*]—This remark of Herodotus concerning bees, is in a great measure true, because all apiaries are found to succeed and thrive best, which are exposed to a degree of middle temperature: yet it would be difficult perhaps to ascertain the precise degree of cold in which bees would cease to live and multiply. Modern experiments have made it obviously appear, that in severe winters this insect has perished as frequently from famine as from cold. It is also well known that bees have lived in hollow trees in the colder parts of Russia.—*T.*

There is a Nomadic people in Russia who are called Bashkers, the particular meaning of which word in their own language is *Bees-men.* They particularly attend to the rearing of bees and making honey and wax. They live in the borders of the river Urat.

required the Edonian[17] Myrcinus, with the view of building there a city: Coës, on the contrary, who was a private individual, wished to be made prince of Mitylene. Having obtained what they severally desired, they departed.

XII. Darius, induced by a circumstance of which he was accidentally witness, required Megabyzus to transport the Pæonians from Europe to Asia. Pigres and Mantyes were natives of Pæonia, the government of which became the object of their ambition. With these views, when Darius had passed over into Asia, they betook themselves to Sardis, carrying with them their sister, a person of great elegance and beauty. As Darius was sitting publicly in that division of the city appropriate to the Lydians, they took the opportunity of executing the following artifice: they decorated their sister in the best manner

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[17] *Edonian.*]—This district is by some writers placed in Thrace, by others in Macedonia. D'Anville places Edonia and Myrcinus at the mouth of the river Strymon. In chapters 23 and 98 of this book, Myrcinus is said to be near that river. The *o* is used long by Virgil, and short by Lucan:

Ac velut Edoni Boreæ cum spiritus alto.

Æn. xii. 365.

Nam qualis vertice Pindi
Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyæo.

Luc. i. 674.—*T.*

It is also used long in Horace.

they were able, and sent her to draw water; she had a vessel upon her head[18], she led a horse by a bridle fastened round her arm, and she was moreover spinning some thread. Darius viewed her as she passed with attentive curiosity, observing that her employments were not those of a Persian, Lydian, nor indeed of any Asiatic female. He was prompted by what he had seen to send some of his attendants, who might observe what she did with the horse. They accordingly followed her: the woman, when she came to the river, gave her horse some water, and then filled her pitcher. Having done this, she returned by the way she came; with the pitcher of water on her head, the horse fastened by a bridle to her arm, and as before employed in spinning.

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18 *Upon her head.*]—Nicolas Damascenus tells a similar story of Alyattes king of Sardis. This prince was one day sitting before the walls of the town, when he beheld a Thracian woman with an urn on her head, a distaff and spindle in her hand, and behind her a horse secured by a bridle. The king, astonished, asked her who and of what country she was? She replied, she was of Mysia, a district of Thrace. In consequence of this adventure, the king by his ambassadors desired Cotys prince of Thrace to send him a colony from that country, of men, women, and children.—*Larcher.*

In my former note on this subject, Major Rennell informs me, I was mistaken. The two names, Mysia and Mœsia, are it seems perfectly distinct and appropriate. The former is the country adjacent to the Hellespont, and the latter the region along the southern side of the Danube.

XIII. Darius, equally surprized at what he heard from his servants and had seen himself, sent for the woman to his presence. On her appearance, the brothers, who had observed all from a convenient situation, came forwards, and declared that they were Pæonians, and the woman their sister. Upon this, Darius inquired who the Pæonians were, where their country was situated, and what had induced themselves to come to Sardis. The young men replied, "that as to "themselves, their only motive was a desire of "entering into his service; that Pæonia their "country was situated on the banks of the river "Strymon, at no great distance from the Hel-"lespont." They added, "that the Pæonians "were a Trojan colony." Darius then inquired if all the women of their country were thus accustomed to labour; they replied without hesitation in the affirmative, for this was the point they had particularly in view.

XIV. In consequence of the above, Darius sent letters to Megabyzus, whom he had left commander of his forces in Thrace, ordering him to remove all the Pæonians to Sardis, with their wives and families. The courier sent with this message instantly made his way to the Hellespont, which having passed, he presented Megabyzus with the orders of his master. Megabyzus accordingly lost no time in executing them; but taking

with him some Thracian guides [19], led his army against Pæonia.

XV. The Pæonians being aware of the intentions of the Persians, collected their forces, and advanced towards the sea, imagining the enemy would there make their attack: thus they prepared themselves to resist the invasion of Megabyzus: but the Persian general being informed that every approach from the sea was guarded by their forces, under the direction of his guides made a circuit by the higher parts of the country, and thus eluding the Pæonians, came unexpectedly upon their towns, of which, as they were generally deserted, he took possession without difficulty. The Pæonians, informed of this event, dispersed themselves, and returning to their families submitted to the Persians. Thus the Pæonians, the Syropæonians, the Pæoplæ, and they who possess the country as far as the Prasian lake, were removed from their habitations, and transported to Asia.

XVI. The people in the vicinity of mount Pangæus [20], with the Doberæ, the Agrianæ,

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19 *Thracian guides.*]—The French translators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, mistaking the Latin version, sumptis è Thraciâ ducibus, have rendered this passage, "commanda aux capitaines de Thrace."—*T.*

20 *Pangæus.*]—This place, as Herodotus informs us in the seventh book, possessed both gold and silver mines.—*T.*

Odomanti, and those of the Prasian lake, Megabyzus was not able to subdue. They who lived upon the lake, in dwellings of the following construction, were the objects of his next attempt. In this lake, strong piles[21] are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the shore. These erections were in former times made at the public expence; but a law afterwards passed, obliging a man for every wife whom he should marry (and they allow a plurality) to drive three of these piles into the ground, taken from a mountain called Orbelus. Upon these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap-door opens to the water. To prevent their infants from falling into the lake, they fasten a string to their legs. Their horses and cattle are fed principally with fish[22], of which there is such abun-

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21 *Strong piles*, &c.]—Exemplum urbis in fluvio super tignis et tabulatis structæ in America habet Teixeira.—*Reiske.*

22 *With fish.*]—Torfæus, in his History of Norway, informs us, that in the cold and maritime parts of Europe cattle are fed with fish.—*Wesseling.*

On our arrival we dined with Mr. Saretcheff on cold roast beef, which tasted so fishy that we thought it had been basted with train-oil. In the afternoon we drank tea at the commandant's: this also tasted of fish; and when I mentioned it to our host, he recommended the next cup without cream, which was very good. He told me that the cattle had been fed for the last ten weeks entirely upon the offals of fish, and that the cows preferred dried salmon to hay.

Sauer's Expedition to the Eastern Ocean, p. 41.

dance, that if any one lets down a basket into the water, and steps aside, he may presently after draw it up full of fish. Of these they have two particular species, called papraces and tilones.

XVII. Such of the Pæonians as were taken captive were removed into Asia. After the conquest of this people, Megabyzus sent into Macedonia seven Persians of his army, next in dignity and estimation to himself, requiring of Amyntas, in the name of Darius, earth and water. From the lake Prasis to Macedonia there is a very short passage; for upon the very brink of the lake is found the mine, which in after-times produced to Alexander a talent every day. Next to this mine is the Dysian mount; which being passed, you enter Macedonia.

XVIII. The Persians on their arrival were admitted to an immediate audience of Amyntas; when they demanded of him, in the name of Darius, earth and water. This was not only granted, but Amyntas received the messengers hospitably into his family, gave them a splendid entertainment, and treated them with particular kindness. When after their entertainment they began to drink, one of the Persians thus addressed Amyntas: "Prince of Macedonia, it is a custom with "us Persians, whenever we have a public enter-"tainment, to introduce our concubines and

" young wives. Since therefore you have re-
" ceived us kindly, and with the rites of hos-
" pitality, and have also acknowledged the
" claims of Darius, in giving him earth and
" water, imitate the custom we have mentioned."
" Persians," replied Amyntas, " our manners
" are very different, for our women are kept
" separate from the men. But since you are
" our masters, and require it, what you solicit
" shall be granted." Amyntas therefore sent for the women, who on their coming were seated opposite to the Persians. The Persians observing them beautiful, told Amyntas that he was still defective: " For it were better," they exclaimed, " that they had not come at all, than, on their
" appearing, not to suffer them to sit near us,
" but to place them opposite, as a kind of tor-
" ment to our eyes[23]." Amyntas, acting thus

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[23] *Torment to our eyes.*]—This passage has been the occasion of much critical controversy. Longinus censures it as frigid. Many learned men, in opposition to Longinus, have vindicated the expression. Pearce, in his Commentaries, is of opinion that those who in this instance have opposed themselves to Longinus, have not entered into the precise meaning of that critic. The historian, he observes, does not mean to say that the beauty of these females might not excite dolores oculorum, but they could not themselves properly be termed dolores oculorum. Pearce quotes a passage from Æschylus, where Helen is called μαλθακον ομματων βελος, the tender dart of the eyes. Alexander the Great

under compulsion, directed the women to sit with the Persians. The women obeyed, and the Persians, warmed by their wine, began to put their hands to their bosoms, and to kiss them.

XIX. Amyntas observed this indecency with great vexation, though his awe of the Persians induced him not to notice it. But his son Alexander, who was also present, and witnessed their

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called the Persian women βολιδας ομματων, the darts of the eyes. After all, to me at least, considering it was used by natives of Persia, and making allowance for the warm and figurative language of the east, the expression seems to require neither comment nor vindication. In some classical lines written by Cowley, called The Account, I find this strong expression:

When all the stars are by thee told,
The endless sums of heavenly gold;
Or when the hairs are reckon'd all,
From sickly Autumn's head that fall:
Or when the drops that make the sea,
Whilst all her sands thy counters be,
Thou then, and then alone, may'st prove
Th' arithmetician of my love.
An hundred loves at Athens score:
At Corinth write an hundred more:
Three hundred more at Rhodes and Crete,
Three hundred 'tis, I'm sure, complete;
For arms at Crete each face does bear,
And every eye's an archer there, &c.

When we consider that the Cretan archers were celebrated beyond all others, this expression will not seem much less bold or figurative than that of Herodotus.—*T.*

behaviour, being in the vigour of youth, and hitherto without experience of calamity, was totally unable to bear it. "Sir," said he to Amyntas, being much incensed, "your age is a sufficient "excuse for your retiring; leave me to preside "at the banquet, and to pay such attention to "our guests as shall be proper and necessary." Amyntas could not but observe that the warmth of youth prompted his son to some act of boldness; he accordingly made him this reply: "I can "plainly see your motive for soliciting my absence; you desire me to go, that you may perpetrate somewhat to which your spirit impels "you; but I must insist upon it[24], that you do "not occasion our ruin by molesting these men; "suffer their indignities patiently.—I shall however follow your advice, and retire." With these words Amyntas left them.

XX. Upon this, Alexander thus addressed the Persians: "You are at liberty, Sirs, to repose "yourselves with any or with all of these females; I have only to require, that you will "make your choice known to me. It is now

[24] *Insist upon it.*]—The reader will in this place, I presume, be naturally suspicious that the good old king Amyntas was well aware what his son Alexander intended to perpetrate. If he suspected what was about to be done, and had not wished its accomplishment, he would probably, notwithstanding his age, have staid and prevented it.—*T.*

" almost time to retire, and I can perceive that " our wine has had its effect upon you. You " will please therefore to suffer these women to " go and bathe themselves, and they shall after- " wards return." The Persians approved of what he said, and the women retired to their proper apartments; but, in their room, he dressed up an equal number of smooth-faced young men, and arming each with a dagger, he introduced them to the company. " Persians," said he, on their entering, " we have given you " a magnificent entertainment, and supplied you " with every thing in our power to procure. " We have also, which with us weighs more than " all the rest, presented you with our matrons " and our sisters, that we might not appear to " you in any respect insensible of your merits; " and that you may inform the king your master " with what liberality a Greek and prince of " Macedonia has entertained you at bed and at " board." When he had thus said, Alexander commanded the Macedonians, whom he addressed as females, to sit by the side of the Persians; but on their first attempt to touch them, the Macedonians put every one of them to death.

XXI. These Persians with their retinue thus forfeited their lives; they had been attended on this expedition with a number of carriages and servants, all of which were seized and plundered.

At no great interval of time, a strict inquisition was made by the Persians into this business; but Alexander, by his discretion, obviated its effects. To Bubaris[25], a native of Persia, and one of those[26] who had been sent to inquire concerning the death of his countrymen, he made very liberal presents, and gave his sister in marriage. By these means the assassination of the Persian officers was overlooked and forgotten.

XXII. These Greeks were descended from Perdiccas: this they themselves affirm, and indeed I myself know it, from certain circumstances which I shall hereafter relate. My opinion of this matter is also confirmed by the determination of those who preside at the Olympic

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25 *Bubaris.*]—It appears from book the seventh, chap. 21, of our author, that this Bubaris was the son of Megabyzus. —*T.*

26 *One of those.*]—It is contended by Valknaer, who is answered by Larcher, in a very long note, that instead of *των στρατηγων*, it should be *τῳ στρατηγῳ*, that is, in fact, whether it should be "one of those," &c. or "chief of those," &c. Which of these is the more proper reading, is not, I think, of sufficient importance to warrant any hasty suspicion, not to say alteration of the text. That Bubaris was a man of rank we know, for he was the son of Megabyzus; that he was the chief of those employed on this occasion, may be presumed, from his receiving from Alexander many liberal presents, and his own sister in marriage.—*T.*

games[27]: for when Alexander, with an ambition of distinguishing himself, expressed a desire of entering the lists, the Greeks, who were his competitors, repelled him with scorn, asserting, that this was a contest, not of Barbarians, but of Greeks; but he proved himself to be an Argive, and was consequently allowed to be a Greek. He was then permitted to contend, and was matched with the first combatant[28].

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[27] *Preside at the Olympic games.*]—The judges who presided at the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ; their number varied at different times; they were a long time ten, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number of the Elean tribes; but it finally reverted to ten. They did not all judge promiscuously at every contest, but only such as were deputed to do so. Their decisions might be appealed from, and they might even be accused before the senate of Olympia, who sometimes set aside their determinations. They who were elected Hellanodicæ were compelled to reside ten months successively in a building appropriated to their use at Olympia, and named from them the Hellanodicæon, in order to instruct themselves, previous to their entering on their office.—*Larcher.*

[28] *With the first combatant.*]—See Lucian, Hermotimus, vol. i. p. 782-3.—Hemsterhusius.

Lycinus.—Do not, Hermotimus, tell me what anciently was done, but what you yourself have seen at no great distance of time.

Hermotimus.—A silver urn was produced sacred to the god, into which some small lots of the size of beans were thrown: two of these are inscribed with the letter A, two more with B, two others with G, and so on, according to the number of competitors, there being always two lots marked with the

XXIII. I have related the facts which happened. Megabyzus, taking the Pæonians along with him, passed the Hellespont, and arrived at Sardis. At this period, Histiæus the Milesian was engaged in surrounding with a wall, the place which had been given him by Darius, as a reward for his preserving the bridge; it is called Myrcinus [29], and is near the river Strymon. Megabyzus, as soon as he came to Sardis, and learned what had been done with respect to Histiæus, thus addressed Darius: "Have you, "Sir, done wisely, in permitting a Greek of "known activity and abilities to erect a city "in Thrace? in a place which abounds with "every requisite for the construction and equip- "ment of ships; and where there are also mines "of silver? A number of Greeks are there, "mixed with Barbarians, who, making him their

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same letter. The combatants then advanced one by one, and calling on the name of Jupiter, put his hand into the urn, and drew out a lot. An officer stood near with a cudgel in his hand, and ready to strike if any one attempted to see what letter he had drawn. Then the Alytarch, or one of the Hellanodicæ, obliging them to stand in a circle, paired such together as had drawn the same letter. If the number of competitors was not equal, he who drew the odd letter was matched against the victor, which was no small advantage, as he had to enter the lists quite fresh against a man already fatigued.

29 *Myrcinus.*]—This place in some books of geography is written Myrcenus.—*T.*

"leader, will be ready on every occasion to "execute his commands. Suffer him therefore to "proceed no farther, lest a civil war be the con- "sequence. Do not, however, use violent mea- "sures; but when you shall have him in your "power, take care to prevent the possibility of "his return to Greece."

XXIV. Darius was easily induced to yield to the arguments of Megabyzus, of whose sagacity he entirely approved. He immediately therefore sent him a message to the following purport: "Histiæus, king Darius considers you as one "of the ablest supports of his throne, of which "he has already received the strongest testi- "mony. He has now in contemplation a busi- "ness of great importance, and requires your "presence and advice." Histiæus believed the messenger, and, delighted with the idea of being invited to the king's councils, hastened to Sardis, where on his arrival Darius thus addressed him: "Histiæus, my motive for soliciting your pre- "sence is this; my not seeing you at my return "from Scythia filled me with the extremest re- "gret; my desire to converse with you conti- "nually increased, being well convinced that "there is no treasure so great as a sincere and "sagacious friend, for of your truth as well as "prudence, I have received the most satisfactory "proofs. You have done well in coming to

"me; I therefore entreat you that, forgetting "Miletus, and leaving the city you have re- "cently built in Thrace, you will accompany "me to Susa; you shall there have apartments "in my palace, and live with me, my companion "and my friend."

XXV. Darius, having thus accomplished his wishes, took Histiæus with him, and departed for Susa. Artaphernes, his brother by the father's side, was left governor of Sardis; Otanes was intrusted with the command of the sea-coast. Sisamnes, the father of the latter, had been one of the royal judges; but having been guilty of corruption in the execution of his office, was put to death by Cambyses. By order of this prince, the entire skin was taken from his body, and fixed over the tribunal[30] at which he formerly presided. Cambyses gave the office of Sisamnes to his son Otanes, commanding him to have constantly in memory on what tribunal he sat.

XXVI. Otanes having at first the above ap-

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[30] *Fixed over the tribunal.*]—This, it seems, was a common custom in Persia; and corrupt judges were sometimes flayed alive, and their skins afterwards thus disposed. Larcher quotes a passage from Diodorus Siculus, which informs us that Artaxerxes punished some unjust judges precisely in this manner.—*T.*

pointment, succeeded afterwards to the command of Megabyzus, when he reduced Byzantium and Chalcedon. He took also Lamponium [31] and Antandros [32], which latter is in the province of Troy. With the assistance of a fleet from Lesbos he made himself master of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi.

XXVII. The Lemnians fought with great bravery, and made a long and vigorous resistance, but were at length subdued. Over such as survived the conflict, the Persians appointed Lycaretus governor: he was the brother of Mæander, who had reigned at Samos, but he died during his government. All the above-mentioned people were reduced to servitude: it was pretended that some had been deserters in the Scythian expedition, and that others had harassed Darius in his retreat. Such was the conduct of Otanes in his office, which he did not long enjoy with tranquillity.

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[31] *Lamponium.*]—Pliny and, I believe, Strabo call this place Lamporea. It was an island of the Chersonese.

[32] *Antandros.*]—

Classemque sub ipsâ
Antandro et Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ.
Virg. Æn. iii. 5.

This place has experienced a variety of names, Assos, Apollonia, and now Dimitri. —*T.*

XXVIII. The Ionians were soon visited by new calamities, from Miletus and from Naxos[33]. Of all the islands, Naxos was the happiest; but Miletus might be deemed the pride of Ionia, and was at that time in the height of its prosperity. In the two preceding ages it had been considerably weakened by internal factions, but the tranquillity of its inhabitants was finally restored by the interposition of the Parians[34], whom the Milesians had preferred on this occasion to all the other Greeks.

XXIX. To heal the disorders which existed among them, the Parians applied the following

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33 *Naxos.*]—This place was first called Strongyle, afterwards Dia, and then Naxos; there was a place of this name also in Sicily. The Naxos of the Ægean, is now called Naxia; it was anciently famous for its whetstones, and Naxia cos became a proverb. In classical story, this island is famous for being the place where Theseus, returning from Crete, forsook Ariadne, who afterwards became the wife of Bacchus: a very minute and satisfactory account of the ancient and modern condition of this island is to be found in Tournefort. Stephanus the geographer says, that the women of Naxos went with child but eight months, and that the island possessed a spring of pure wine.—*T.*

34 *Parians.*]—The inhabitants of Paros have always been accounted people of good sense, and the Greeks of the neighbouring islands often make them arbitrators of their disputes.—See Tournefort; who gives an excellent account of this island.

remedy:—Those employed in this office were of considerable distinction; and perceiving, on their arrival at Miletus, that the whole state was involved in extreme confusion, they desired to examine the condition of their territories: wherever, in their progress through this desolate country, they observed any lands well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the owner. In the whole district, however, they found but few estates so circumstanced. Returning to Miletus, they called an assembly of the people, and they placed the direction of affairs in the hands of those who had best cultivated their lands; for they concluded that they would be watchful of the public interest, who had taken care of their own: they enjoined all the Milesians who had before been factious, to obey these men, and they thus restored the general tranquillity.

XXX. The evils which the Ionians experienced from these cities were of this nature:—Some of the more noble inhabitants of Naxos, being driven by the common people into banishment, sought a refuge at Miletus; Miletus was then governed by Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, the son-in-law and cousin of Histiæus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius detained at Susa: Histiæus was prince of Miletus, but was at Susa when the Naxians arrived in his dominions. —These exiles petitioned Aristagoras to assist

them with supplies, to enable them to return to their country: he immediately conceived the idea that, by accomplishing their return, he might eventually become master of Naxos. He thought proper, however, to remind them of the alliance which subsisted between Histiæus and their countrymen; and he addressed them as follows: "I am not master of adequate force to restore "you to your country, if they who are in pos- "session of Naxos shall think proper to oppose "me: the Naxians, I am told, have eight "thousand men in arms, and many ships of "war; I, nevertheless, wish to effect it, and "I think it may be thus accomplished:—Arta- "phernes, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Da- "rius, is my particular friend; he has the com- "mand of all the sea-coast of Asia, and is pro- "vided with a numerous army, and a powerful "fleet; he will, I think, do all that I desire." The Naxians instantly intrusted Anaxagoras with the management of the business, intreating him to complete it as he could; they engaged to assist the expedition with forces, and to make presents to Artaphernes; and they expressed great hopes that as soon as they should appear before the place, Naxos, with the rest of the islands, would immediately submit; for hitherto none of the Cyclades were under the power of Darius.

XXXI. Aristagoras went immediately to Sar-

dis, where meeting with Artaphernes, he painted to him in flattering terms the island of Naxos, which, though of no great extent, he represented as exceedingly fair and fertile, conveniently situated with respect to Ionia, very wealthy, and remarkably populous.—"It will be worth your "while," said he, "to make an expedition against "it, under pretence of restoring its exiles; to "facilitate this, I already possess a considerable "sum of money, besides what will be otherwise "supplied. It is proper that we who set the "expedition on foot should provide the contin- "gent expences; but you will certainly acquire "to the king our master, Naxos with its de- "pendencies, Paros and Andros, with the rest "of the islands called the Cyclades: from hence "you may easily attempt the invasion of Eu- "bœa[35], an island large and fertile, and not at "all inferior to Cyprus; this will afford you an "easy conquest, and a fleet of an hundred ships "will be sufficient to effect the whole." To this Artaphernes replied; "What you recommend "will, unquestionably, promote the interest of

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[35] *Eubœa.*]—This large island is now commonly called Negropont or Negrepont, by the Europeans; which is a corruption of its proper appellation *Egripo:* anciently it had, at different times, a great variety of names, Macris, Chalcis, Asopis, &c. At Artemisium, one of its promontories, the first battle was fought betwixt Xerxes and the Greeks.—*T.*

"the king, and the particulars of your advice "are reasonable and consistent; instead of one "hundred, a fleet of two hundred vessels shall "be ready for you in the beginning of spring; it "will be proper, however, to have the sanction of "the king's authority."

XXXII. Pleased with the answer he received, Aristagoras returned to Miletus. Artaphernes sent immediately to acquaint Darius with the project of Aristagoras, which met his approbation; he accordingly fitted out two hundred triremes, which he manned partly with Persians and partly with their allies. Megabates had the command of the whole; a Persian of the family of the Achæmenides, related to Darius and himself, whose daughter, if report may be credited [36], was, in succeeding times, betrothed to Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, son of Cleombrotus, who aspired to the sovereignty of Greece. These forces, under the direction of this Megabates, were sent by Artaphernes to Aristagoras.

XXXIII. Megabates embarking at Miletus,

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[36] *If report may be credited.*]—It appears by this, that when Herodotus composed this work, he had no knowledge of the letter in which Pausanias demanded of Xerxes his daughter in marriage.—It may be seen in Thucydides.—*Larcher.*

with Aristagoras, a body of Ionians, and the Naxians, pretended to sail towards the Hellespont; but arriving at Chios, he laid-to near Caucasa[37], meaning, under the favour of a north wind, to pass from thence to Naxos. The following circumstance, however, happened, as if to prove it was ordained that the Naxians should not suffer from this expedition:—Megabates, in going his rounds, found a Myndian vessel deserted by its crew; he was so exasperated, that he commanded his guards to find Scylax, who commanded it, and to bind him in such a situation, that his head should appear outwardly from the aperture through which the oar passed, his body remaining in the vessel. Aristagoras being informed of the treatment which his friend the Myndian had received, went to Megabates to make his excuse, and obtain his liberty; but as his expostulations proved ineffectual, he went himself and released Scylax. Megabates was much incensed,

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37 *Near Caucasa.*]—This passage has been erroneously rendered, by the French translators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, as well as by our countryman Littlebury, "over-against mount Caucasus:" but whoever will be at the pains to attend to the geographical distances of mount Caucasus and the islands of the Ægean sea, Chios and Naxos, will easily perceive that the place here meant must be some strait in the island of Chios, or some small island in its vicinity.—See the Essais de Critique sur les Traductions d'Herodote, by the Abbé Bellanger.—*T.*

and expressed his displeasure to Aristagoras; from whom he received this reply: "Your au- "thority," said Aristagoras, "does not extend "so far as you suppose; you were sent to at- "tend me, and to sail wherever I should think "expedient; — you are much too officious." Megabates took this censure so ill, that at the approach of night he dispatched some emissaries to Naxos, to acquaint the inhabitants with the intended invasion.

XXXIV. Of this attack, the Naxians had not the remotest expectation; but they took the advantage of the intelligence imparted to them, and provided against a siege, by removing their valuables from the fields to the town, and by laying up a store of water and provisions, and, lastly, by repairing their walls; they were thus prepared against every emergence, whilst the Persians, passing over from Chios to Naxos, found the place in a perfect state of defence. Having wasted four months in the attack, and exhausted all the pecuniary resources which themselves had brought, together with what Aristagoras supplied, they still found that much was wanting to accomplish their purpose; they erected, therefore, a fort for the Naxian exiles, and returned to the continent greatly disappointed.

XXXV. Aristagoras thus found himself un-

able to fulfil his engagements with Artaphernes; and he was also, to his great vexation, called upon to defray the expence of the expedition: he saw, moreover, in the person of Megabates, an accuser, and he feared that their ill success should be imputed to him, and made a pretence for depriving him of his authority at Miletus; all these motives induced him to meditate a revolt. Whilst he was in this perplexity, a messenger arrived from Histiæus, at Susa, who brought with him an express command to revolt; the particulars of which were impressed in legible characters upon his scull [38]. Histiæus was

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38 *Upon his scull.*]—Many curious contrivances are on record, of which the ancients availed themselves to convey secret intelligence. Ovid mentions an example of a letter inscribed on a person's back:

Caveat hoc custos, pro charta, conscia tergum
Præbeat, inque suo corpore verba ferat.

The circumstance here mentioned by Herodotus is told at greater length by Aulus Gellius, who says that Histiæus chose one of his domestics for this purpose who had sore eyes, to cure which he told him that his hair must be shaved, and his head scarified; having done which, he wrote what he intended on the man's head, and then sent him to Aristagoras, who, he told him, would effect his cure by shaving his head a second time. Josephus mentions a variety of stratagems to effect this purpose: some were sent in coffins, during the Jewish war, to convey intelligence; others crept out of places disguised like dogs; some have conveyed their intentions in various articles of food: and in bishop

desirous to communicate his intentions to Aristagoras: but as the ways were strictly guarded, he could devise no other method; he therefore took one of the most faithful of his slaves, and inscribed what we have mentioned upon his scull, being first shaved; he detained the man till his hair was again grown, when he sent him to Miletus, desiring him to be as expeditious as possible; Aristagoras being requested to examine his scull, he discovered the characters which commanded him to commence a revolt. To this measure Histiæus was induced, by the vexation he experienced from his captivity at Susa. He flattered himself, that as soon as Aristagoras was in action, he should be able to escape to the sea-coast; but whilst every thing remained quiet at Miletus, he had no prospect of effecting his return.

XXXVI. With these views Histiæus dispatched his emissary; the message he delivered to Aristagoras was alike grateful and seasonable, who accordingly signified to his party, that his own opinions were confirmed by the commands

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Wilkin's Mercury, where a number of examples of this nature are collected, mention is made of a person, who rolled up a letter in a wax candle, bidding the messenger inform the party that was to receive it, that the candle would give him light for his business.—*T.*

of Histiæus: his intentions to commence a revolt met with the general approbation of the assembly, Hecatæus the historian being the only one who dissented. To dissuade them from any act of hostility against the Persian monarch, Hecatæus enumerated the various nations which Darius had subdued, and the prodigious power he possessed: when he found these arguments ineffectual, he advised them to let their fleet take immediate possession of the sea, as the only means by which they might expect success. He confessed that the resources of the Milesians were few; but he suggested the idea, that if they would make a seizure of the wealth deposited by Crœsus the Lydian in the Branchidian temple[39], they might promise themselves these two advantages: they would be able to make themselves masters of the sea, and by thus using these riches themselves, would prevent their being plundered by the enemy.—That these riches were of very considerable value, I have explained in my first book. This advice, however, was as ill received, although the determination to revolt was fixed and universal: it was agreed,

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39 *Branchidian temple.*]—For an account of the temple of Branchidæ, see vol. i. p. 47. "If Aristagoras," says Larcher, "had followed the prudent counsel of Hecatæus, he would have had an increase of power against the Persian, and deprived Xerxes of the opportunity of pillaging this temple, and employing its riches against Greece."—*T.*

that one of their party should sail to the army, which, on its return from Naxos, had disembarked at Myus[40], with the view of seizing the persons of the officers.

XXXVII. Iatragoras was the person employed in this business; who so far succeeded, that he captured Oliatus the Mylassensian, son of Ibanolis; Histiæus of Termene[41], son of Tymnis; Coës the son of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mitylene; together with Aristagoras the Cymæan, son of Heraclides; with many others. Aristagoras thus commenced a regular revolt, full of indignation against Darius. To engage the Milesians to act in concert with him, he established among them a republican form of government. He adopted a similar conduct with respect to the rest of Ionia; and to

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40 *Myus.*]—This city was given to Themistocles, to furnish his table with fish, with which the bay of Myus formerly abounded: the bay, in process of time, became a fresh-water lake, and produced such swarms of gnats, that the inhabitants deserted the place, and were afterwards incorporated with the Milesians. Chandler, who visited this place, complains that the old nuisance of Myus tormented him and his companions exceedingly, and that towards the evening the inside of their tent was made quite black by the number of gnats which infested them.—*T.*

41 *Termene.*]—Larcher remarks on this word, that no such place existed in Caria as Termere, which is the common reading: it certainly ought to be Termene.—*T.*

excite a general prejudice in his favour, he expelled the tyrants from some places, and he also sent back those who had been taken in the vessels which served against Naxos, to the cities to which they severally belonged.

XXXVIII. The inhabitants of Mitylene had no sooner got Coës into their hands, than they put him to death, by stoning him. The Cymeans sent their tyrant back again; and the generality of those who had possessed the supreme authority being driven into exile, an equal form of government was established: this being accomplished, Aristagoras the Milesian directed magistrates [42], elected by the people, to be established in the different cities; after which he himself sailed in a trireme to Lacedæmon, convinced of the necessity of procuring some powerful allies.

XXXIX. Anaxandrides, son of Leontes, did not then sit upon the throne of Sparta; he was deceased, and his son Cleomenes had succeeded him, rather on account of his family than his virtues. Anaxandrides had married his niece,

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[42] *Magistrates.*]—The original is στρατηγος, which, as M. Larcher remarks, does not in this place mean the leader of an army, but a magistrate, corresponding with the archons of Athens, &c.—*T.*

of whom he was exceedingly fond, though she produced him no children; in consequence of which the ephori thus expostulated with him: "If you do not feel for yourself, you ought for "us, and not suffer the race of Eurysthenes to "be extinguished. As the wife which you now "have is barren, repudiate her and marry "another, by which you will much gratify your "countrymen." He replied, that he could not comply with either of their requests, as he did not think them justifiable in recommending him to divorce an innocent woman, and to marry another.

XL. The ephori consulted with the senate, and made him this reply: "We observe your "excessive attachment to your wife; but if you "would avoid the resentment of your country- "men, do what we advise: we will not insist "upon your repudiating your present wife— "behave to her as you have always done; but "we wish you to marry another, by whom you "may have offspring."—To this, Anaxandrides assented, and from that time had two wives [43],

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[43] *Two wives.*]—"He was the only Lacedæmonian," says Pausanias, "who had two wives at the same time, and had two separate dwellings."—*See Pausanias, Lacon.* lib. iii. chap. 3. 211.—*T.*

and two separate dwellings, contrary to the usage of his country.

XLI. After no great interval of time, the woman whom he last married, produced him this Cleomenes, the presumptive heir of his dominions: about the same period his former wife, who had hitherto been barren, proved with child. Although there was not the smallest doubt of her pregnancy, the relations of the second wife, vexed at the circumstance, industriously circulated a report, that she had not conceived, but intended to impose upon them a supposititious child. Instigated by these insinuations, the ephori distrusted and narrowly observed her; she was, however, delivered first of Dorieus, afterwards of Leonidas [44], and lastly of Cleombrotus; by some it has been affirmed, that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were twins. The second wife, who was the daughter of Prinetades, and grand-daughter of Demarmenus, had never any other child but Cleomenes.

XLII. Of Cleomenes it is reported, that he had not the proper use of his faculties, but was insane; Dorieus, on the contrary, was greatly

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[44] *Leonidas.*]—This was the Leonidas who died with so much glory at the straits of Thermopylæ.

distinguished by his accomplishments, and trusted to find his way to the throne, by valour and by merit. On the death of Anaxandrides [45], the Lacedæmonians, agreeably to the custom of their nation, preferred Cleomenes [46], as eldest, to the sovereignty. This greatly disgusted Dorieus, who did not chuse to become the dependent of his brother; taking with him, therefore, a number of his countrymen, he left Sparta, and founded a colony: but so impetuous was his resentment, that he neglected to inquire of the Delphic oracle where he should fix his residence; nor did he observe any of the ceremonies [47] usual on such occasions. Under the conduct of some Thereans, he sailed to Libya, and settled on the banks of a river, near Cinyps [48], one of the most delightful

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[45] *Anaxandrides.*]—An apophthegm of this Anaxandrides is left by Plutarch: being asked why they preserved no money in the exchequer; "That the keepers of it," he replied, "might not be tempted to become knaves."—*T.*

[46] *Cleomenes.*]—This Cleomenes, as is reported by Ælian, used to say that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, and Hesiod the poet of the Helots: one taught the art of war, the other of agriculture.—*T.*

[47] *Of the ceremonies.*]—Amongst other ceremonies which they observed, when they went to establish a colony, they took some fire from the Prytaneum of the metropolis; and if in the colony this ever was extinguished, they returned to the metropolis to re-kindle it.—*Larcher.*

[48] *Cinyps.*]—The vicinity of this river abounded in goats, and was celebrated for its fertility.—See Virgil.

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situations in that part of the world: in the third year of his residence, being expelled by the joint efforts of the Macæ*, a people of Libya, and Carthaginians, he returned to the Peloponnese.

XLIII. Here Antichares of Elis advised him, in conformity to the oracles of Laius[49], to found Heraclea in Sicily; affirming that all the region of Eryx was the property of the Heraclidæ, as

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Nec minus interea barbas, incanaque menta
Ciniphii tondent hirci.

It may be proper to observe, that this passage, quoted from Virgil, has been the occasion of much literary controversy.—See Heyne on Georgic. lib. iii. 312.

The fertility of the places adjoining to the Cinyps, is thus mentioned by Ovid:

Ciniphiæ segetis citius numerabis aristas.

This river is in the district belonging to the modern Tripoli.

The Cinyps fell into the sea, near Leptis, in Proper Africa; Claudian has called it *Vagus*, without much appropriation of his epithet; for its course is short, and not wandering:

Quos Vagus humectat Cinyps, et proximus hortis
Hesperidum Triton, et Gir notissimus amnis,
Æthiopum, simili mentitus gurgite Nilum.
De Laud. Stil. 251.—*T.*

* There is something corrupt in this passage, and Wesseling proposes to read for the Macæ, the Machlyæ: but they are too remotely situated: I am rather inclined to agree with Larcher, who reads ὑπο Μακέων Λιβυων.

[49] *Oracle of Laius.*]—The Greek is εκ των Λαιου χρησμων: —this, M. Larcher has rendered "the oracles declared to Laius," but surely he is wrong.—*T.*

having belonged to Hercules[50]: he accordingly went to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether the country where he was about to reside would prove a permanent acquisition. The reply of the Pythian being favourable, he embarked in the same vessels which had accompanied him from Libya, and sailed to Italy.

XLIV. At this period, as is reported, the Sybarites, under the conduct of Telys their king, meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of Crotona; apprehensive of which, these latter implored the assistance of Dorieus; he listened to their solicitations, and joining forces,

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[50] *Belonged to Hercules.*]—When Hercules came into the country of Eryx, Eryx, the son of Venus and Bula the king of the country, challenged Hercules to wrestle with him: both sides proposed the wager to be won and lost. Eryx laid to stake his kingdom, but Hercules his oxen: Eryx at first disdained such an unequal wager, not fit to be compared with his country; but when Hercules, on the other side, answered, that if he lost them, he should lose his immortality with them, Eryx was contented with the condition, and engaged in the contest; but he was overcome, and so was stripped of the possession of his country, which Hercules gave to the inhabitants, allowing them to take the fruits to their own use, till some one of his posterity came to demand it, which afterwards happened; for many ages after, Dorieus the Lacedæmonian, sailing into Sicily, recovered his ancestor's dominion, and there built Heraclea. *Booth's Diodorus Siculus.*

he marched with them against Sybaris[51], and took it[52]. The Sybarites say, that Dorieus and his companions did this; but the people of Crotona deny that in their contest with the Sybarites they availed themselves of the assistance of any foreigner, except Callias of Elis, a priest of the

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51 *Sybaris*]—was founded by the Achæans, betwixt the rivers Crastis and Sybaris; it soon became a place of great opulence and power; the effeminacy of the people became proverbial: see Plutarch.—"It is reported," says he, in his Banquet of the Seven Wise Men, "that the Sybarites used to invite their neighbours wives a whole twelvemonth before their entertainments, that they might have convenient time to dress and adorn themselves."—See also Athenæus, book xii. c. 3, by whom many whimsical things are recorded of the Sybarites. Their attendants at the bath had fetters, that they might not by their careless haste burn those who bathed; all noisy trades were banished from their city, that the sleep of the citizens might not be disturbed; for the same reason, also, they permitted no cocks to be kept in their city. An inhabitant of this place being once at Sparta, was invited to a public entertainment, where, with the other guests, he was seated on a wooden bench: "Till now," he remarked, "the bravery of the Spartans has excited my admiration; but I no longer wonder that men living so hard a life should be fearless of death." This place was afterwards called Thurium.—*T.*

52 *And took it.*]—The cause of the war, according to Diodorus Siculus, was this; "Telys persuaded the Sybarites to banish five hundred of their most powerful citizens, and to sell their effects by public auction; the exiles retired to Crotona. Telys sent ambassadors to demand the fugitives, or in case of refusal to denounce war; the people were disposed to give them up, but the celebrated Pythagoras per-

family of the Iamidæ[53]. He had fled from Telys, prince of Sybaris, because on some solemn sacrifice he was not able from inspecting the entrails of the victim to promise success against Crotona.—The matter is thus differently stated by the two nations.

XLV. The proofs of what they severally assert are these:—The Sybarites show near the river Crastis, which is sometimes dry, a sacred edifice, built, as they affirm, by Dorieus after the capture of his city, and consecrated to the Crastian[54] Minerva. The death of Dorieus himself is another, and with them the strongest testimony, for he lost his life whilst acting in opposition to the express commands of the oracle. For if he had

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suaded them to engage in their defence: Milo was very active in the contest, and the event was so fatal to the Sybarites, that their town was plundered and reduced to a perfect solitude.—*Larcher.*

[53] *Iamidæ.*]—To Iamus and his descendants, who were after him called Iamidæ, Apollo gave the art of divination.—See the fifth Olympic of Pindar.

[54] *Crastian.*]—The city Crastis, or, as it is otherwise called, Crastus, was celebrated for being the birth-place of the comic poet Epicharmus, and of the courtesan Lais.

Larcher translates this, near the Torrent of Crathis, on the authority of H. Stephens, who reads ξηροποταμος a torrent. He also reads Crathis, in defiance of all the editions of Herodotus.—*T.*

confined his exertions to what was the avowed object of his expedition, he would have obtained, and effectually secured, the possession of the region of Eryx, and thus have preserved himself and his followers. The inhabitants of Crotona are satisfied with exhibiting certain lands, given to the Elean Callias, in the district of Crotona, which even within my remembrance the descendants of Callias possess: this was not the case with Dorieus, nor any of his posterity. It must be obvious, that if this Dorieus, in the war above mentioned, had assisted the people of Crotona, they would have given more to him than to Callias. To the above different testimonies every person is at liberty to give what credit he thinks proper.

XLVI. Amongst those who accompanied Dorieus, with a view of founding a colony, were Thessalus, Paræbates, Celees, and Euryleon, all of whom, Euryleon excepted, fell in an engagement with the Phœnicians and Ægistans, on their happening to touch at Sicily: this man, collecting such as remained of his companions, took possession of Minoas, a Selinusian colony, which he delivered from the oppression of Pythagoras. Euryleon, putting the tyrant to death, assumed his situation and authority. These, however, he did not long enjoy, for the Selinusians rose in a body against him, and slew him before the altar

of Jupiter Forensis[55], whither he had fled for refuge.

XLVII. Philip[56], a native of Crotona, and son of Butacides, was the companion of Dorieus in his travels and death: he had entered into engagements of marriage with the daughter of Telys of Sybaris, but not choosing to fulfil them, he left his country, and went to Cyrene; from hence also he departed, in search of Dorieus, in a three-oared vessel of his own, manned with a crew provided at his own expence: he had been victorious in the Olympic games, and was confessedly the handsomest man in Greece. On account of his accomplishments of person[57], the

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55 *Jupiter Forensis.*]—Perhaps in stricter conformity to the original it should have been Jupiter Agoræas—That is to say, in the public forum, where the altar of this god was erected.—*T.*

56 *Philip.*]—"There seems in this place," says Reiske, "to be something wanted: how did Philip come amongst the Ægestans; or how did he obtain their friendship; or, if he was killed with Dorieus, in Italy, how did he escape in a battle with the Ægestans?" "These," concludes Reiske, "are difficulties which I am totally unable to reconcile."

57 *Accomplishments of person.*]—For καλλος in this place, some are for reading κλεος; but Eustathius quotes the circumstance and passage at length, a strong argument for retaining the reading of καλλος:—"Designatur," says Wesseling, "quid fieri solebat Egestæ;" but that it was usual in various places to honour persons for their beauty,

people of Ægestus* distinguished him by very unusual honours; they erected a monument over the place of his interment, where they offered sacrifices as to a divinity.

XLVIII. We have above related the fortunes and death of Dorieus. If he could have submitted to the authority of his brother Cleomenes, and had remained at Lacedæmon, he would have succeeded to the throne of Sparta. Cleomenes, after a very short reign, died, leaving an only child, a daughter, of the name of Gorgo [58].

XLIX. During the reign of Cleomenes, Aris-

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is evident from various passages in ancient authors. A beautiful passage from Lucretius, which I have before quoted in this work, sufficiently attests this.—Καθιστων δε και πολλοι τους καλλιστους βασιλεας: many nations assign the sovereignty to those amongst them who are the most beautiful, says Athenæus. Beauty, declares Euripides, is worthy of a kingdom—πρωτον μεν ειδος αξιον τυραννιδος.— See a very entertaining chapter on this subject in Athenæus, book xiii. c. 2. —*T.*

* Ægestus was a maritime town in Sicily, so called, according to Strabo, from Egestus, one of its founders, but according to others, from Acestes, whom Æneas found in Sicily.

58 *Gorgo.*]—She married Leonidas. When this prince departed for Thermopylæ, Gorgo asked him what commands he had for her; "Marry," says he, "some worthy man, and become the mother of a valiant race."—He himself expected to perish. This princess was remarkable for her virtue, and was one of the women whom Plutarch proposed as a model to Eurydice.—*Larcher.*

tagoras, prince of Miletus, arrived at Sparta: the Lacedæmonians affirm, that desiring to have a conference with their sovereign, he appeared before him with a tablet of brass in his hand, upon which was inscribed every known part of the habitable world, the seas, and the rivers*. He thus addressed the Spartan monarch: "When "you know my business, Cleomenes, you will "cease to wonder at my zeal in desiring to see "you. The Ionians, who ought to be free, are "in a state of servitude, which is not only dis- "graceful, but also a source of the extremest "sorrow to us, as it must also be to you, who "are so pre-eminent in Greece.—I entreat you "therefore, by the gods of Greece, to restore "the Ionians to liberty, who are connected with "you by ties of consanguinity. The accomplish-

* This is perhaps among the first geographical charts on record, at least in Greece. This must have happened 504 years before the Christian Æra, for the voyage of Aristagoras to Lacedæmon took place in the first year of the 69th Olympiad.

For the antiquity of geographical charts, Larcher refers us to Joshua, c. xviii. v. 4, et seq. Joshua sent three men from every tribe, to examine the Land of Promise, with orders to describe what they saw in a book. The children of Israel must have learned this science in Ægypt. According to Clemens of Alexandria, the Ægyptian priests possessed the works of Thoth, among which were four which formed a complete system of geography. This is going very far back indeed.

"ment of this will not be difficult; the Barba-
"rians are by no means remarkable for their
"valour, whilst you, by your military virtue,
"have attained the summit of renown. They
"rush to the combat armed only with a bow
"and a short spear[59]; their robes are long, they
"suffer their hair to grow, and they will afford
"an easy conquest; add to this, that they who
"inhabit the continent are affluent beyond the
"rest of their neighbours. They have abun-
"dance of gold, of silver, and of brass; they enjoy
"a profusion of every article of dress, have plenty
"of cattle, and a prodigious number of slaves[60]:

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[59] *Bow and a short spear.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations is given in the seventh book of Herodotus, in which place he minutely describes the various people which composed the prodigious army of Xerxes. It may not be improper to add, that the military habits of the Greeks and Romans very much resembled each other.—*T.*

[60] *Number of slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless captives taken in war, who were employed for menial purposes; from being sought after for use, they finally were purchased and possessed for ostentation. A passage in Athenæus informs us, that he knew many Romans who possessed from ten to twenty thousand slaves. According to Tacitus, four hundred slaves were discovered in one great man's house at Rome, all of whom were executed for not preventing the death of their master. Some nations marked their slaves like cattle; and in Menjan's History of Algiers, the author represents a Turk saying scornfully to a Christian, "What, have you forgot the time when a Christian at Algiers was scarce worth an onion?" We learn from Sir

"all these, if you think proper, may be yours "The nations by which they are surrounded I "shall explain: next to these Ionians are the "Lydians, who possess a fertile territory, and a "profusion of silver *." Saying this, he pointed on the tablet in his hand, to the particular district of which he spake. "Contiguous to the Lydians," continued Aristagoras, "as you advance towards "the east, are the Phrygians, a people who, be- "yond all the nations of whom I have any know- "ledge, enjoy the greatest abundance of cattle, "and of the earth's produce. The Cappadocians, "whom we call Syrians, join to the Phrygians; "then follow the Cilicians, who possess the scat- "tered islands of our sea, in the vicinity of "Cyprus: these people pay annually to the king "a tribute of five hundred talents. The Arme- "nians, who have also great plenty of cattle,

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John Chardin, that when the Tartars made an incursion into Poland, and carried away as many captives as they could, perceiving they would not be redeemed, they sold them for a crown a head. To enter into any elaborate disquisition on the subject of the rights of man, would in this place be impertinent; and the reader will perceive that I have rather thrown together some detached matters on it, perhaps not so generally known.

* Larcher, in this passage, acutely remarks, that all the offerings of Crœsus to the oracle were in pure gold; yet it is surprising that these people paid their tribute to the Great King in silver; and Aristagoras, in enumerating the riches of the country, says nothing of their gold.

" border on the Cilicians. The Armenians have " for their neighbours the Matieni, who inhabit " the region contiguous to Cissia: in this latter " district, and not far remote from the river " Choaspes, is Susa, where the Persian monarch " occasionally resides, and where his treasures " are deposited.—Make yourselves masters of " this city, and you may vie in affluence with " Jupiter himself. Lay aside, therefore, the " contest in which you are engaged with the " Messenians, who equal you in strength, about " a tract of land not very extensive, nor re- " markably fertile. Neither are the Arcadians, " nor the Argives, proper objects of your am- " bition, who are destitute of those precious " metals[61], which induce men to brave dangers

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61 *Precious metals.*]—I have always been much delighted with the following passage in Lucretius, wherein he informs his readers that formerly brass was sought after and valued, and gold held in no estimation, because useless.

Nam fuit in pretio magis æs, aurumque jacebat
Propter inutilitatem, hebeti mucrone retusum.
Nunc jacet æs, aurum in summum successit honorem.
Sic volvenda ætas commutat tempora rerum,
Quod fuit in pretio, fit nullo denique honore:
Porro aliud succedit, et e contemptibus exit,
Inque diès magis appetitur, floretque repertum
Laudibus, et miro 'st mortaleis inter honore.

Again,

Tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis
Exercent hominum vitam belloque fatigant. T.

"and death: but can any thing be more desir-
"able, than the opportunity now afforded you, of
"making the entire conquest of Asia?" Aristagoras here finished. "Milesian friend," replied Cleomenes, "in the space of three days you shall "have our answer."

L. On the day, and at the place appointed, Cleomenes inquired of Aristagoras how many days journey it was from the Ionian sea to the dominions of the Persian king. Aristagoras, though very sagacious, and thus far successful in his views, was here guilty of an oversight. As his object was to induce the Spartans to make an incursion into Asia, it was his interest to have concealed the truth, but he inconsiderately replied, that it was a journey of about three months. As he proceeded to explain himself, Cleomenes interrupted him; "Stranger of Miletus," said he, "depart from Sparta before sun-set: what "you say cannot be agreeable to the Lacedæ-"monians, desiring to lead us a march of three "months from the sea." Having said this, Cleomenes withdrew.

LI. Aristagoras taking a branch of olive[62] in

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[62] *Branch of olive.*]—It would by no means be an easy task to enumerate the various uses to which the olive was

his hand, presented himself before the house of Cleomenes, entering which as a suppliant*, he

anciently applied, and the different qualities of mind of which it was the symbol. It rewarded the victors at the Olympic games; it was sacred to Minerva, and suspended round her temples; it was the emblem of peace; it indicated pity, supplication, liberty, hope, &c. &c. The invention of it was imputed to Minerva.

Oleæque Minerva
Inventrix.

Statius calls it supplicis arbor olivæ.—Directions for the mode of planting them had place amongst the institutes of Solon: he who pulled up for his own private use more than two olives in the year, paid a fine of one hundred drachmæ. They were not known till a very late period at Rome; but when introduced, their fruit became an indispensable article of luxury, and was eaten before and after meals. See Martial:

Inchoat atque eadem finit oliva dapes.

It should seem from a passage in Virgil, that the suppliant carried a wreath of olive in his hands:

Præferimus manibus vittas et verba precantum.

Of its introduction into the western world, Mr. Gibbon speaks thus: "The olive followed the progress of peace, of which it was considered as the symbol. Two centuries after the foundation of Rome, both Italy and Africa were strangers to that useful plant: it was naturalized in those countries, and at length carried into the heart of Spain, and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, in supposing that it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flourish in the neighbourhood of the sea, were insensibly exploded by industry and experience."—*T.*

* Larcher says, went straight to the hearth, which those who entered any mansion as suppliants, constantly did.

requested an audience, at the same time desiring that the prince's daughter might retire; for it happened that Gorgo, the only child of Cleomenes, was present, a girl of about eight or nine years old: the king begged that the presence of the child might be no obstruction to what he had to say. Aristagoras then promised to give him ten talents if he would accede to his request. As Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras rose in his offers to fifty talents; upon which the child exclaimed, "Father, unless you withdraw, this "stranger will corrupt you." The prince was delighted with the wise saying of his daughter, and instantly retired. Aristagoras was never able to obtain another audience of the king, and left Sparta in disgust.

LII. In that space of country about which Cleomenes had inquired, the Persian king has various stathmi, or mansions, with excellent inns[63]; these are all splendid and beautiful, the

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63 *Excellent inns.*]—There can be little doubt, but that these are the same with what are now called caravanseras, and which abound in all oriental countries; these are large square buildings, in the centre of which is a spacious court. The traveller must not expect to meet with much accommodation in these places, except that he may depend upon finding water: they are esteemed sacred, and a stranger's goods, whilst he remains in one of them, are secure from pillage.

whole of the country is richly cultivated, and the roads good and secure. In the regions of Lydia and Phrygia, twenty of the above stathmi occur within the space of ninety parasangs and a half. Leaving Phrygia, you meet with the river Halys, where there are gates which are strongly defended, but which must be necessarily passed. Advancing through Cappadocia, to the confines of Cilicia, in the space of one hundred and four parasangs, there are eight-and-twenty stathmi. At the entrance of Cilicia are two necks of land, both well defended; passing beyond which through the country, are three stathmi in the space of fifteen parasangs and a half: Cilicia, as well as Armenia, are terminated by the Euphrates, which is only passable in vessels. In Armenia, and within the space of fifty-six parasangs and a half, there are fifteen stathmi, in which also are

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Such exactly are also the *choultries* of Indostan, many of which are buildings of great magnificence, and very curious workmanship. What the traveller has there to expect is little more than mere shelter.

According to Chardin, Olearius, Le Brun, and other travellers, the caravanseras of modern Persia are very magnificent, spacious, and commodious. Rennell observes that they might probably have been intended to receive the monarch and his retinue, whilst on military expeditions. They had certainly a reference to war, as well as to civil purposes; for the space between them was precisely the day's march of an army, whilst it was too short for the journeys of ordinary travellers.—*T.*

guards: through this country flow the waters of four rivers, the passage of which is indispensable, but can only be effected in boats. Of these the first is the Tigris; by the same name also the second and the third are distinguished, though they are by no means the same, nor proceeding from the same source: of these latter the one rises in Armenia, the other among the Matieni. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels. From Armenia to the country of the Matieni, are four stathmi: from hence, through Cissia, as far as the river Choaspes, there are eleven stathmi, and a space of forty-two parasangs and a half. The Choaspes is also to be passed in boats, and beyond this Susa is situated. Thus it appears, that from Sardis to Susa are one hundred and eleven[64] stations, or stathmi.

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[64] *One hundred and eleven.*]—According to the account given by Herodotus in this chapter:

	Stathmi.	Parasangs.
In Lydia and Phrygia are	20	94½
In Cappadocia	28	104
In Cilicia	3	15½
In Armenia	15	56½
In the country of the Matieni	4	
In Cissia	11	42½

So that here must evidently be some mistake, as instead of 111 stathmi, we have only 81, instead of 450 parasangs, only 309. Wesseling remarks on the passage, that if the

LIII. If this measurement of the royal road by parasangs, be accurate, and a parasang be supposed equal to thirty stadia, which it really is, from Sardis to the royal residence of Memnon are thirteen thousand five hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty parasangs: allowing, therefore, one hundred and fifty stadia to each day, the whole distance will be a journey of ninety entire days.

LIV. Aristagoras was, therefore, correct in telling Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that it was a three months march to the residence of the Persian monarch. For the benefit of those who wish to have more satisfactory information on the subject, it may not be amiss to add the particulars of the distance betwixt Sardis and Ephesus. From the Greek sea to Susa, the name by which the city of Memnon[65] is generally known,

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numbers were accurate, much advantage might be derived from knowing the exact proportion of distance between a stathmus and a parasang. The same defect is observable in the Anabasis of Xenophon, which Hutchinson tries in vain to explain.—*T.*

[65] *Of Memnon.*]—Strabo says that Susa was built by Titron, the father of Memnon; Herodotus also, in another place, calls Susa the city of Memnon.

The walls of Susa, about sixteen miles in circumference, were built by the father of Memnon; the citadel was called Memnonium, and the town Memnonia; the palace is represented by Ælian as amazingly sumptuous; and Strabo com-

is fourteen thousand and forty stadia: from Ephesus to Sardis is five hundred and forty stadia; thus three days must be added to the computation of the three months.

LV. From Sparta Aristagoras went to Athens, which at this period had recovered its liberty: Aristogiton and Harmodius[66], who were Ge-

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pares its ancient walls, citadel, temples, and palace, to those of Babylon; a noble high road through the country was attributed to Memnon; one tomb near Troy was supposed to be his, and another in Syria. The Æthiopians, according to Diodorus of Sicily, claimed Memnon as their countryman; and a nation in Æthiopia were called Memnones. On the borders of that country, and of Ægypt, stood many old places called Memnonian; part of Thebes had the name of Memnonium, and an astonishing building at Abydos was denominated Memnon's palace. Strabo says, that many supposed Ismandes to have been the same with Memnon, and consequently they must have thought the labyrinth a Memnonian structure. Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 616. 8vo edition.

66 *Aristogiton and Harmodius.*]—To the reader of the most common classical taste, the story of these Athenians must be too familiar to require any repetition in this place. An extract from a poem of Sir William Jones, in which the incident is happily introduced, being less common, may not perhaps be unacceptable. It is entitled,

Julii Melesigoni ad Libertatem Carmen.

Virtus renascens quem jubet ad sonos
Spartanam avitos ducere tibiam?
Quis fortium cœtus in auras
Athenias juvenum ciebit;

phyreans by descent, had put to death Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother of Hippias the tyrant. We are informed that Hipparchus had received intimation in a vision[67] of the disaster which afterward befel

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Quos Marti amicos, aut hyacinthinis
Flava in palæstra conspicuos comis
Aut alma libertas in undis
Egelidis agiles videbat,

Plausitque visos? Quis modulabitur
Excelsa plectro carmina Lesbio,
Quæ dirus Alcæo sonante
Audiit, et tremuit dynastes?

Quis myrteâ ensem fronde reconditum
Cantabit? Illum civibus Harmodi
Dilecte servatis, nec ullo
Interiture die tenebas:

Vix se refrænat fulmineus chalybs,
Mox igne cœlesti emicat, exilit
Et cor reluctantis tyranni
Perforat ictibus haud remissis.

O ter placentem Palladi victimam, &c.

The reader will perceive that Julii Melesigoni is an anagram of Gulielmi Jonesii.

A more particular account of these deliverers of their country may be found in Thucydides, book vi. c. 12. Pausanias, book i. and in Suidas.—*T.*

[67] *In a vision.*]—The ancients imagined that a distinct dream was a certain declaration of the future, or that the event was not to be averted, but by certain expiatory ceremonies. See the Electra of Sophocles, and other places.—*Larcher.*

One method which the ancients had of averting the effects of disagreeable visions, was to relate them to the Sun, who

him; though for four years after his death, the people of Athens suffered greater oppression than before.

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they believed had the power of turning aside any evils which the night might have menaced.—*T.*

From Larcher's elaborate note on the subject of Aristogiton and Harmodius, I extract such particulars as I think will be most interesting to an English reader.

Harmodius is reported to have inspired the tyrant Hipparchus with an unnatural passion, who loving and being beloved by Aristogiton, communicated the secret to him, and joined with him in his resolution to destroy their persecutor. This is sufficiently contradicted, with respect to the attachment betwixt Harmodius and Aristogiton, which appears to have been the true emotions of friendship only.

The courtezan Leæna, who was beloved by Harmodius, was tortured by Hippias, to make her discover the accomplices in the assassination of Hipparchus. Distrusting her own fortitude, she bit off her tongue. The Athenians, in honour of her memory, erected in the vestibule of the citadel a statue in bronze of a lioness without a tongue.

Thucydides seems willing to impute the action which caused the death of Hipparchus to a less noble motive than the love of liberty; but the contemporaries of the conspirators, and posterity, have rendered Harmodius and Aristogiton the merit which was their due.

Popular songs were made in their honour, one of which is preserved in Athenæus, book xv. chap. 15. It is also to be seen in the Analecta of Brunck, i. 155. This song has been imputed to Alcæus, but falsely, for that poet died before Hipparchus.

The descendants of the conspirators who destroyed the tyrant were maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence.

One of the posterity of Harmodius, proud of his birth, reproached Iphicrates with the meanness of his family: "My nobility," answered Iphicrates, "commences with

LVI. The particulars of the vision which Hipparchus saw are thus related: in the night preceding the festival of the Panathenæa[68], Hipparchus beheld a tall and comely personage, who addressed him in these ambiguous terms:

Brave lion, thy unconquer'd soul compose
To meet unmov'd intolerable woes:
In vain th' oppressor would elude his fate,
The vengeance of the gods is sure, though late.

As soon as the morning appeared, he disclosed what he had seen to the interpreters of dreams. He, however, slighted the vision, and was killed in the celebration of some public festival.

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me, yours terminates in you." In the very time of the decline of Athens, the love of liberty was there so hereditary and indelible, that they erected statues to the assassins of Cæsar.

Much of this note of Larcher seems very exceptionable; to talk of the love of liberty prevailing at Athens in its declining state is little better than nonsense. After all, the fact is that Hipparchus was no tyrant, and Harmodius and Aristogiton, notwithstanding all the fine things said of them, were mere assassins.

[68] *Panathenæa.*]—On this subject I give, from different writers, the more interesting particulars.

The festival was in honour of Minerva. There were the greater and lesser Panathenæa. The lesser originated with Theseus; these were celebrated every year in the month Hecatombeon: the greater were celebrated every five years. In the procession on this occasion, old men, selected for their good persons, carried branches of olive. There were also races with torches both on horse and foot; there was also a musical contention. The conqueror in any of these games

LVII. The Gephyreans, of which nation were the assassins of Hipparchus, came, as themselves affirm, originally from Eretria. But the result of my inquiries enables me to say that they were Phœnicians, and of those who accompanied Cadmus into the region now called Bœotia, where they settled, having the district of Tanagria assigned them by lot. The Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives; the Bœotians afterwards drove out the Gephyreans, who took refuge at Athens. The Athenians inrolled them among their citizens, under certain restrictions of trifling importance.

LVIII. The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyreans were a part, introduced during their residence in Greece the knowledge of various articles of science, and among other things letters[69], with which, as I

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was rewarded with a vessel of oil. There was also a dance by boys in armour. The vest of Minerva was carried in a sacred procession of persons of all ages, &c. &c.—*T.*

Plutarch makes mention of another vision which appeared to Hipparchus. According to him, Hipparchus, a short time before his death, saw the goddess Venus, who out of a certain phial threw some blood in his face.—Plutarch de sera numeris vindicta.

[69] *Among other things letters.*]—Upon the subject of the invention of letters, it is necessary to say something; but so much has been written by others, that the task of selection, though all that is necessary, becomes sufficiently difficult.

The first introduction of letters into Greece has been generally assigned to Cadmus; but this has often been contro-

conceive, the Greeks were before unacquainted. These were at first such as the Phœnicians themselves indiscriminately use; in process of time,

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verted, no arguments on either side have been adduced sufficiently strong to be admitted as decisive. It is probable that they were in use in Greece before Cadmus, which Diodorus Siculus confidently affirms. But Lucan, in a very enlightened period of the Roman empire, without any more intimation of doubt, than is implied in the words famæ si creditur, wrote thus:

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris;
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
Noverat, et saxis tantum, volucresque feræque
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

Phœnicians first, if ancient fame be true,
The sacred mystery of letters knew;
They first by sound, in various lines design'd,
Exprest the meaning of the thinking mind;
The power of words by figures rude convey'd,
And useful science everlasting made.
Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,
Engrav'd her precepts and her arts in stone;
While animals, in various order plac'd,
The learned hieroglyphic column grac'd. *Rowe.*

To this opinion, concerning the use of hieroglyphics, bishop Warburton accedes, in his Divine Legation of Moses, who thinks that they were the production of an unimproved state of society, as yet unacquainted with alphabetical writing. With respect to this opinion of Herodotus, many learned men thought it worthy of credit, from the resemblance betwixt the old eastern and earliest Greek characters, which is certainly an argument of some weight.

No European nation ever pretended to the honour of this discovery; the Romans confessed they had it from the Greeks, the Greeks from the Phœnicians.

Pliny

however, they were changed both in sound and form [70]. At that time the Greeks most contiguous to this people were the Ionians, who learned these letters of the Phœnicians, and, with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phœnicians first made them known in Greece, they called them, as justice required,

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Pliny says the use of letters was eternal; and many have made no scruple of ascribing them to a divine revelation. Our countryman Mr. Astle, who has written perhaps the best on this complicated subject, has this expression, with which I shall conclude the subject:

"The vanity of each nation induces them to pretend to the most early civilization; but such is the uncertainty of ancient history, that it is difficult to determine to whom the honour is due. It should seem, however, that the contest may be confined to the Ægyptians, Phœnicians, and Cadmeans."—*T.*

70 *In sound and form.*]—The remark of Dr. Gillies on this passage seems worthy of attention:

"The eastern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much disputed whether the ancient orientals used any characters to express them: their languages therefore had an inflexible thickness of sound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumstance denotes in the Greeks organs of perception more acute, elegant, and discerning. They felt such faint variations of liquid sounds as escaped the dulness of Asiatic ears, and invented marks to express them. They distinguished in this manner not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their musical intonation."—Yet much of this is perhaps disputable, and I question whether the Chinese language would not baffle the finest Greek ear that ever existed.

Phœnician letters. By a very ancient custom, the Ionians call their books *diphtheræ* * or skins, because at a time when the plant of the biblos was scarce [71], they used instead of it the skins of goats and sheep. Many of the barbarians have used these skins for this purpose within my recollection.

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* The Persians, says Major Rennell, name a record or writing *dufter*. Is it not probable that the Ionians borrowed the term from the Persians, together with the use of the skin itself, the name of which may perhaps be rendered parchment?

Diodorus Siculus says, that the old Persians inscribed their records on skins.—According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, there was a treaty between the Romans and Gabii written on the hide of an ox; and if we may credit Zonaras and Cedrenus, which is not absolutely required, a copy of Homer's Iliad was preserved in the library at Constantinople, written in characters of gold, upon the intestine of a dragon 120 feet in length. See Hole, on the Arabian Nights, 192.

[71] *Biblos was scarce.*]—Je ne parlerai point ici de toutes les matières sur lesquelles on a tracé l'écriture. Les peaux de chèvre et de mouton, les differens espèces de toile furent successivement employées; on a fait depuis usage du papier tissu des couches interieures de la tige d'une plante qui croit dans les marais de l'Egypte, ou au milieu des eaux dormantes que le Nil laisse après son inondation. On en fait des rouleaux, à l'extremité desquels est suspendu une etiquette contenant le titre du livre. L'écriture n'est tracée que sur une des faces de chaque rouleau; et pour en faciliter la lecture, elle s'y trouve divisée en plusieurs compartimens ou pages, &c.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

Every thing necessary to be known on the subject of paper, its first invention, and progressive improvement, is satisfactorily discussed in the edition of Chambers's Dictionary by Rees.—*T.*

LIX. I myself have seen, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, at Thebes of Bœotia, these Cadmean letters inscribed upon some tripods, and having a near resemblance to those used by the Ionians. One of the tripods has this inscription[72]:—

Amphitryon's present from Teleboan spoils.

This must have been about the age of Laius, son of Labdacus, whose father was Polydore, the son of Cadmus.

LX. Upon the second tripod, are these hexameter verses:—

Scæus, victorious pugilist, bestow'd
Me, a fair offering, on the Delphic god.

This Scæus was the son of Hippocoon, if indeed it was he who dedicated the tripod, and not another person of the same name, cotemporary with Œdipus the son of Laius.

LXI. The third tripod bears this inscription in hexameters:—

Royal Laodamas to Phœbus' shrine
This tripod gave, of workmanship divine.

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72 *This inscription.*]—Some curious inscriptions upon the shields of the warriors who were engaged in the siege of the capital of Eteocles, are preserved in the "Seven against Thebes of Æschylus," to which the reader is referred.

Under this Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, who had the supreme power, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and fled to the Encheleans [73]. The Gephyreans were compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens [74]. Here they built temples for their own particular use, resembling in no respect those of the Athenians, as may be seen in the edifice and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.

LXII. Thus have I related the vision of Hipparchus, and the origin of the Gephyreans, from whom the conspirators against Hipparchus were descended: but it will be proper to explain more at length, the particular means by which the Athenians recovered their liberty, which I was beginning to do before. Hippias had succeeded to the supreme authority, and, as appeared by his conduct, greatly resented the death of Hipparchus. The Alcmæonidæ, who were of Athenian origin, had been driven from their country by the Pisis-

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[73] *Encheleans.*]—The Cadmeans and Encheleans of Herodotus are the Thebans and Illyrians of Pausanias.

[74] *To Athens.*]—They were permitted to settle on the borders of the Cephissus, which separates Attica from Eleusis: there they built a bridge, in order to have a free communication on both sides. I am of opinion that bridges, γεφυραι, took their name from these people. The author of the Etymologicum Magnum pretends that the people were called Gephyreans from this bridge; but it is very certain that they bore this name before they settled in Attica.—*Larcher.*

tratidæ: they had, in conjunction with some other exiles, made an effort to recover their former situations, and to deliver their country from its oppressors, but were defeated with considerable loss. They retired to Lipsydrium beyond Pæonia, which they fortified, still meditating vengeance against the Pisistratidæ. Whilst they were thus circumstanced, the Amphictyons[75] engaged them upon certain terms to construct that which is now the temple of Delphi[76], but which did not exist before. They were not deficient in point of

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75 *Amphictyons.*]—The Amphictyons were an assembly composed of deputies from the different states of Greece. Each state sent two deputies, one to examine into what related to the ceremonies of religion, the other to decide disputes betwixt individuals. Their general residence was at Delphi, and they determined disputes betwixt the different states of Greece. Before they proceeded to business, they sacrificed an ox cut into small pieces; their decisions were sacred, and without appeal. They met twice in the year, in spring and in autumn: in spring at Delphi, in autumn at Thermopylæ.

This council represented but a certain number of the states of Greece; but these were the principal and most powerful. Demosthenes makes mention of a decree where the Amphictyonic council is called το κοινον των Ελληνων συνεδριον; and Cicero also calls them commune Græciæ concilium.—*T.*

Concerning the present state of Delphi, the reader will do well to consult Chandler's Travels in Greece, pp. 266, 268.

76 *Temple of Delphi.*]—The temple of Delphi was in its origin no more than a chapel made of the branches of laurel growing near the temple. One Pteras of Delphi afterwards built it of more solid materials: it was then constructed of brass; the fourth time it was erected of stone.—*Larcher.*

wealth; and, warmed with the generous spirit of their race, they erected a temple far exceeding the model which had been given, in splendour and in beauty. Their agreement only obliged them to construct it of the stone of Porus[77], but they built the vestibule of Parian marble.

LXIII. These men, as the Athenians relate, during their continuance at Delphi, bribed the Pythian to propose to every Spartan who should consult her, in a private or public capacity, the deliverance of Athens. The Lacedæmonians, hearing incessantly the same thing repeated to them, sent an army under the conduct of Anchimolius, son of Aster, a man of a very popular character, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens. They in this respect violated some very ancient ties of hospitality; but they thought it better became them to listen to the commands of Heaven, than to any human consideration. These forces were dispatched by sea, and being driven to Phalerus, were there disembarked by Anchimolius. The

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[77] *Stone of Porus.*]—This stone resembled the Parian marble in whiteness and hardness; but, according to Pliny and Theophrastus, it was less ponderous. Of the marble of Paros I have spoken elsewhere. Larcher remarks that Phidias, Praxiteles, and the more eminent sculptors of antiquity, always preferred it for their works. Tournefort without hesitation prefers the marbles of Italy to those of Greece.

Pisistratidæ being aware of this, applied for assistance to the Thessalians, with whom they were in alliance. The people of Thessaly obeyed the summons, and sent them a thousand horse[78], commanded by Cineas their king, a native of Coniæus: on the arrival of their allies, the Pisistratidæ levelled all the country about Phalerus, and thus enabling the cavalry to act, they sent them against the Spartans. They accordingly attacked the enemy, and killed several, among whom was Anchimolius. Those who escaped were driven to their vessels. Thus succeeded the first attempt of the Lacedæmonians: the tomb of Anchimolius is still to be seen near the temple of

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[78] *Thousand horse.*]—The cavalry of Thessaly were very famous.—See *Theocritus, Id.* xviii. 30.

Η κατφ' κυπαρισσος, η αρματι Θεσσαλος ιππος,
Ωδε και ροδοκρως Ελενα Λακεδαιμονι κυσμος.

As the cypress is an ornament to a garden, as a Thessalian horse to a chariot, so is the lovely Helen the glory of Lacedæmon.—*Larcher.*

Among other solemnities of mourning which Admetus prince of Thessaly orders to be observed in honour of his deceased wife, he bids his subjects cut the manes of all the chariot horses.

Τεθριππα τε ζευγνυσθε και μοναμπυκας
Πωλους σιδηρῳ τεμνετ' αυχενων φοβην.

From which incident it may perhaps be inferred, that the Thessalians held their horses in no small estimation: the speech of Admetus being as much as to say, "All that belongs to me, all that have any share of my regard, shall aid me in deploring my domestic loss."—See vol. i. 215.—*T.*

Hercules, in Cynosarges[79], in the district of Alopece[80], in Attica.

LXIV. The Lacedæmonians afterwards sent a greater body of forces against Athens, not by sea but by land, under the direction of their king Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides. These, on their first entrance into Attica, were attacked by the Thessalian horse, who were presently

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79 *Cynosarges.*]—This place gave name to the sect of the Cynics. It was a gymnasium, or place for public exercises, annexed to a temple, and near one of the gates of Athens. The origin of its appellation *Cynosarges* is thus related: an Athenian named Didymus was performing a sacrifice in his house, but was interrupted by a large white dog, which coming in unexpectedly, seized the victim, carried it off, and left it in another place. Much disturbed by an accident so inauspicious, Didymus consulted the oracle in what manner he might avert the omen; he was told to build a temple to Hercules in the place where the dog had deposited the victim: he did so, and called it *Cynosarges, απο του κυνος αργου*, from the *white dog*, which that name expresses. When Antisthenes founded his sect, he hired this place as conveniently situated for his lectures; and from the name of the place, added to the consideration of the snarling doggish nature of those philosophers, was derived the appellation *Cynic*, which means *doggish*. Antisthenes himself was sometimes called *απλοκυων*, *mere* or *genuine dog*. The expression ad Cynosarges was proverbial. See this explained at length in the Adagia of Erasmus; it signified the same as abi ad corvos, ad malam rem, &c.—*T.*

80 *Alopece.*]—This place was appropriated to the tribe of Antiochis, and according to Diogenes Laertius, was celebrated for being the birth-place of Socrates.—*T.*

routed [81], with the loss of forty of their men: the remainder retired without any further efforts into Thessaly. Cleomenes advancing to the city, was joined by those Athenians who desired to be free; in conjunction with whom he besieged the tyrants in the Pelasgian citadel.

LXV. The Lacedæmonians would have found themselves finally inadequate to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, for they were totally unprepared for a siege, whilst their adversaries were well provided with necessaries. After therefore continuing the blockade for a few days, they were about to return to Sparta, when an accident happened, as fatal to one party as favourable to the other. The children of the Pisistratidæ in their attempts privately to escape, were taken prisoners: this incident reduced them to extreme perplexity, so that finally, to recover their children, they submitted to such terms as the Athenians imposed, and engaged to leave Attica within five days. Thus, after enjoying the supreme authority for thirty-six years, they retired to Sigeum beyond the Scamander. They were in their descent Pylians, of the family of Peleus; they were by

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81 *Presently routed.*]—Frontinus, in his Stratagemata, relates that Cleomenes obstructed the passage of the Thessalian horse, by throwing branches of trees over the plain. This delivery of the Athenians by Cleomenes, is alluded to by Aristophanes, in his play called Lysistratus.—*Larcher.*

birth related to Codrus and Melanthus, who had also obtained the supreme power at Athens, though strangers like themselves. In memory of which, Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, had named his son from the son of Nestor. The Athenians were thus delivered from oppression; and it will now be my business to commemorate such prosperous or calamitous events as they experienced after they had thus recovered their liberties, before Ionia had revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras the Milesian had arrived at Athens to supplicate assistance.

LXVI. Athens was considerable before, but, its liberty being restored, it became greater than ever. Of its citizens, two enjoyed more than common reputation: Clisthenes, of the family of the Alcmæonidæ, who according to the voice of fame had corrupted the Pythian; and Isagoras, son of Tisander, who was certainly of an illustrious origin, but whose particular descent I am not able to specify. The individuals of this family sacrifice to the Carian Jupiter[82]: these

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[82] *Carian Jupiter.*]—The Carians were exceedingly contemned, and they were regarded as slaves, because they were the first who let out troops for hire; for which reason they were exposed to the most perilous enterprizes. This people had a temple common to themselves, with the Lydians and Mysians; this was called the temple of the Carian Jupiter. They

two men, in their contention for superiority, divided the state into factions: Clisthenes, who was worsted by his rival, found means to conciliate the favour of the people. The four tribes[83], which were before named from the sons of Ion,

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They who sacrificed to the Carian Jupiter acknowledged themselves to have been originally from Caria. Plutarch does not omit this opportunity of reproaching Herodotus; and indeed this is among the very few instances of his having justice on his side. As early as in the time of Homer, the following proverb was current:

——— τιω δε μιν εν Καρος αισῃ,
I value him no more than a Carian. *Larcher.*

This interpretation has, however, been justly considered as doubtful. See Dr. Clarke's excellent note on that passage. *Il.* ix. 378.—*T.*

[83] *The four Tribes.*]—The names of the four ancient tribes of Athens varied at different times: they were afterwards, as in this place represented, multiplied into ten: two others were then added. Each of these ten tribes, like so many different republics, had their presidents, officers of police, tribunals, assemblies, and different interests. Fifty senators were elected as representatives of each tribe, which of course made the aggregate representation of the state of Athens amount to five hundred. The motive of Clisthenes in dividing the Athenians into ten tribes, was a remarkable instance of political sagacity; till then any one tribe uniting with a second, must have rendered any contest equal. The names here inserted have been the subject of much learned controversy. See the Ion of Euripides, ver. 1576, and the commentators upon it. An inscription published by Count Caylus has at length removed many of the difficulties.—*T.*

Geleon*, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, he divided into ten, naming them according to his fancy, from the heroes of his country. One however he called after Ajax[84], who had been the neighbour and ally to his nation.

LXVII. In this particular, Clisthenes seems to me to have imitated his grandfather of the same name by his mother's side, who was prince of Sicyon: this Clisthenes having been engaged in hostilities with the Argives, abolished at Sicyon the poetical contests of the rhapsodists[85], which

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* This name is sometimes written Teleon.—In all the editions of Herodotus before that of Gronovius, it was Geleon; he altered it to Teleon from so finding it in Plutarch, and in Stephen of Byzantium. The marble of Cynicus is decisive in favour of Geleon.—See Larcher farther on this subject.

84 *Ajax.*]—Ajax, son of Telamon, had been prince of Ægina, an island in the neighbourhood of Attica.—*Larcher.* This is a most remarkable mistake in Larcher: Ajax was of Salamis, not of Ægina. See the well-known line in Homer:

Αιας δ' εκ Σαλαμινος αγεν δυοκαιδεκα νηας.

85 *Rhapsodists.*]—This word is compounded either of ῥαπτω, to sew, or ῥαβδος, a rod or branch, and ᾠδη, a song or poem. According to the first derivation it signifies a poet, author of various songs or poems which are connected together, making one poem, of which the different parts may be detached and separately recited. According to the second, it signifies a singer, who holding in his hand a branch of laurel, recites either his own compositions or those of some celebrated poet.

Hesiod

he was induced to do, because in the verses of Homer, which were there generally selected for

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Hesiod inclines to the former etymology. Homer, Hesiod, &c. were rhapsodists in this sense; they composed their poems in different books and parts, which uniting together made one perfect composition. The ancient poets went from country to country, and from town to town, to instruct and amuse the people by the recital of their verses, who in return treated them with great honours and much liberality. The most ancient rhapsodist on record is Phemius, whom Homer, after being his disciple, immortalizes in his Odyssey. The most probable opinion is, that in singing the verses which they themselves composed, they carried in their hand a branch of laurel. The rhapsodists of the second kind were invited to feasts and public sacrifices, to sing the poems of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and in particular of Homer. These were satisfied with reciting the compositions of others, and certainly carried a branch of laurel, which has been disputed with respect to the first.

They were also called Homerides or Homerists, because they generally recited verses from Homer.

They sung sitting on a raised chair, accompanying their verses with a cithara or some other instrument, and in return a crown of gold was given them. In process of time the words rhapsodist and rhapsody became terms of contempt, from the abuse which the rhapsodists made of their profession; and at the present day the term rhapsody is applied to a number of vile pieces ill put together.—*Larcher.*

The note above given from Larcher will necessarily bring to the mind of the English reader the character and office of our ancient bards, whom the rhapsodists of old in many respects resembled. Of the two, the bards were perhaps the more honourable, as they confined themselves to the recital of the valorous actions of heroes, and of such sentiments as

this purpose, Argos and its inhabitants were such frequent objects of praise. From the same motive he was solicitous to expel the relics of Adrastus, an Argive, the son of Talaus, which were deposited in the forum of Sicyon [86]; he went therefore to inquire of the Delphic oracle, whether he might expel Adrastus. The Pythian said in reply, that Adrastus was a prince of Sicyon, whilst he (Clisthenes) was a robber. Meeting with this repulse from the oracle, he on his return concerted other means to rid himself of Adrastus. Thinking he had accomplished this, he sent to Thebes of Bœotia to bring back Melanippus [87], a native of Sicyon, and son of Astacus. By the consent of the Thebans, his request was granted; he then erected to his honour a shrine in the Prytaneum, and deposited his remains in a place strongly fortified. His motive for thus bringing back Melanippus, which ought not to be omitted, was

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inspired bravery and virtue. In our language also, rhapsody is now always used in a bad sense; but it was not so with our more ancient writers, and our poets in particular.—*T.*

[86] *Forum of Sicyon.*]—Dieutychidas relates that Adrastus was buried at Megara, and that at Sicyon there was only a cenotaph of this hero. See Scholiast to Pindar. ad Nem. 30.—*Larcher.*

[87] *Melanippus.*]—When the Argives attacked Thebes, this warrior slew Tydeus, and Mecistes, the brother of Adrastus, whilst he himself perished by the hands of Amphiaraus.—They shew, says Pausanias, on the great road, the tomb of Melanippus, the most illustrious of the Theban warriors.

the great enmity which subsisted betwixt him and Adrastus, and farther, because Melanippus had been accessary to the deaths of Mecistes the brother, and Tydeus the son-in-law of Adrastus. When the shrine was completed, Clisthenes assigned to Melanippus the sacrifices and festivals which before had been appropriated to Adrastus, and were solemnized by the Sicyonians with the greatest pomp and magnificence. This district had formerly been under the sovereignty of Polybus, who dying without children, had left his dominions to Adrastus, his grandson by a daughter. Among other marks of honour which the Sicyonians paid the memory of Adrastus, they commemorated in tragic choruses[88] his personal misfortunes, to the

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88 *Tragic choruses.*]—It may be inferred, says Larcher, from this passage, that Thespis was not the inventor of tragedy; and he quotes Themistius as saying, "The Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy, but the Athenians brought it to perfection." Suidas also, at the word Θεσπις, says, that Epigenes of Sicyon was the first tragedian, and Thespis only the sixteenth. M. Larcher is of a contrary opinion, but avoids any discussion of the argument, as beyond the proposed limits of his plan.

To exhibit a chorus, was to purchase a dramatic piece of an author, and defray the expense of its representation. This at Athens was the office of the archon, at Rome of the ædiles. The following passage from Lysias may serve to explain the ancient chorus with regard to its variety and expense.

"When Theopompus was archon, I was furnisher to a

neglect even of Bacchus. But Clisthenes appropriated the choruses to Bacchus, and the other solemnities to Melanippus.

LXVIII. He changed also the names of the Doric tribes, that those of the Sicyonians might be altogether different from those of the Argives, by which means he made the Sicyonians extremely ridiculous. He distinguished the other tribes by the words Hys and Onos[89], superadding only their respective terminations: to his own tribe he prefixed the word Arche, expressive of authority;

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tragic chorus, and I laid out 30 minæ—Afterwards I got the victory with the chorus of men, and it cost me 20 minæ. When Glaucippus was archon, I laid out eight minæ upon pyrrichists; when Diocles was archon, I laid out upon the cyclian chorus three minæ; afterwards, when Alexias was archon, I furnished a chorus of boys, and it cost me fifteen minæ; and when Euclides was archon, I was at the charge of sixteen minæ on the comedians, and of seven upon the young pyrrichists."

From which it appears that the tragic was the most expensive chorus, and its splendour in after-times became so extravagant, that Horace complains the spectators minded more what they saw than what they heard.

> Dixit adhuc aliquid? nil sane: quid placet ergo?
> Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

The business of the chorus at its first institution was to sing dithyrambic verses in honour of Bacchus. How it afterwards became improved and extended, has been too often and too well discussed to require any elaborate discussion in this place.—*T.*

[89] *Hys and Onos.*]—Literally, a swine and an ass.

those of his own tribe were therefore termed Archeleans; of the others, some were called Hyatæ, some Oneatæ, others Chæræatæ. The Sicyonians were known by these appellations during the time of Clisthenes, and for sixty years afterwards. After this period, in consequence of a consultation held among themselves, they changed these names to Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanatæ. To these they added a fourth tribe, which in honour of Ægialeus, son of Adrastus, they called Ægialeans.

LXIX. Such was the conduct of Clisthenes of Sicyon. The Clisthenes of Athens, grandson of the former by a daughter, and named after him, was, as it appears to me, desirous of imitating him from whom he was called. To shew his contempt of the Ionians, he would not suffer the tribes of Athens to bear any resemblance to those of Ionia. Having conciliated his countrymen, who had before been averse to him, he changed the names of the tribes, and increased their number. Instead of four phylarchi he made ten, into which number of tribes he also divided the people; by which means he so conciliated their favour, that he obtained a decided superiority over his opponents[90].

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90 *Over his opponents.*]—Clisthenes and Isagoras had no intention of becoming tyrants, and were united to expel the

LXX. Isagoras, though overcome, endeavoured to recover his importance; he accordingly applied to Cleomenes the Spartan, with whom he had formed the tie of hospitality whilst he was besieging the Pisistratidæ, and who has been suspected of an improper connection with Isagoras's wife. The Lacedæmonian prince, sending a herald before him, pronounced sentence of expulsion against Clisthenes, and many other Athenians, on pretence of their being polluted by sacrilegious murder. Isagoras prevailed upon him to make this his excuse, because the Alcmæonidæ, with those of their party, had been guilty of a murder, in which neither Isagoras nor any of his followers were concerned.

LXXI. The reason why these Athenians were called polluted[91], was this: Cylon *, a native of

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Pisistratidæ from Athens: but they were not at all the more harmonious on this account. The first desired to establish a democracy, and to accomplish it he gave the people more authority than they ever possessed before, by distributing them into a greater number of tribes, making them by these means less easy to be gained. Isagoras, on the contrary, wished to establish an aristocracy; and as he could not possibly succeed in his views, unless by force, he therefore invited the Lacedæmonians to assist him.—*Larcher.*

91 *Polluted.*]—Literally *Enagees*, that is, polluted by their crime, and therefore devoted to the curse of the goddess whom they had offended: the term implies a sacrilegious offence.—*T.*

* This Cylon was of one of the most illustrious and opulent

Athens, who had obtained the prize in the Olympic games, had been convicted of designs upon the government, for, having procured a number of young men of the same age with himself, he endeavoured to seize the citadel; disappointed in his hopes, he with his companions placed themselves before the shrine of Minerva, as suppliants. The Prytanes of the Naucrari[92], who then go-

families of Athens. He married a daughter of Theagenes prince of Megara. He was deluded by an ambiguous oracle, and attempted to seize the citadel of Athens, assisted by some troops which his father-in-law sent him. Strange as it may seem, there was a statue of brass erected to him within the citadel. It is mentioned by Pausanias with expressions of surprise, who conjectures that he received this distinction in consequence of his being one of the handsomest men of his nation, and because he had obtained a prize at the Olympic games. But perhaps it was intended as some atonement for his being traiterously put to death.

[92] *The Prytanes of the Naucrari.*]—I shall endeavour, as concisely as possible, to make this intelligible to the English reader.

The magistrates of Athens were composed of the Archons, the Areopagites, and the senate of five hundred. When the people of Athens consisted only of four tribes, one hundred were elected by lot from each tribe: when afterwards they were divided into ten, fifty were chosen from each tribe; these were the Prytanes, and they governed the city by turns. Each body of fifty, according to Solon's establishment, ruled for the space of thirty-five days, not all at once, but in regular divisions of their body for a certain limited time. To expatiate on the subject of the Prytanes, the particulars of their duty, and their various subdivisions into other responsible magistracies, would require a long dissertation.

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verned Athens, persuaded them to leave this sanctuary, under a promise that their lives should not be forfeited. Their being soon afterwards put to death [93] was generally imputed to the Alcmæonidæ.—These events happened before the time of Pisistratus.

LXXII. Cleomenes having thus ordered the expulsion of Clisthenes, and the other polluted persons, though Clisthenes had privately retired [94],

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Of the Naucrari, or, as it is sometimes written, Naucleri, what follows may perhaps be sufficient.

To the ten tribes of Clisthenes, two more were afterwards added; these twelve were divided into Δημοι, or boroughs, who anciently were named Naucrariæ: of these the magistrates were called Naucrari; each Naucraria furnished for the public service two horsemen and one vessel. Each Athenian borough had anciently its own little senate; thus the Prytanes of the Naucrari were a select number, presiding in each of these senates. With respect to the passage before us, "Many," says Larcher, "are of opinion that Herodotus uses the expression of Prytanes of the Naucrari in a particular sense, meaning by Naucrari the Athenians in general; and by Prytanes, the Archons."—*T.*

[93] *Put to death.*]—The particulars of this strange business are related at length by Thucydides; much also concerning it may be found in the Sera numinis vindicta of Plutarch, and in the Life of Solon. The detail in this place would not be interesting; the event happened 612 years before the Christian æra.—*T.*

[94] *Privately retired.*]—We are told by Ælian, that Clisthenes, having introduced the law of the ostracism, was the first who was punished by it. Few English readers will

came soon afterwards to Athens with a small number of attendants. His first step was, to send into exile as polluted seven hundred Athenian families[95], which Isagoras pointed out to him. He next proceeded to dissolve the senate, and to intrust the offices of government with three hundred of the faction of Isagoras. The senate exerted themselves, and positively refused to acquiesce in his projects; upon which Cleomenes, with Isagoras and his party, seized the citadel; they were here, for the space of two days, besieged by the Athenians in a body, who took the part of the senate. Upon the third day certain terms were offered, and accepted, and the Spartans all of them departed from Athens: thus an omen which happened to Cleomenes was accomplished. For when he was employed in the seizure of the citadel, he desired to enter the

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require to be informed, that the ostracism was the Athenian sentence of banishment, determined by the people writing the name of the person to be banished on an oyster-shell.

The punishment itself was not always deemed dishonourable, for the victim, during the term of his banishment, which was ten years, enjoyed his estate. A person could not be banished by the ostracism, unless an assembly of six thousand were present.—*T.*

95 *Athenian families.*]—This expression is not so unimportant as it may appear to a careless reader. There were at Athens many domesticated strangers, who enjoyed all the rights of citizens, except that they could not be advanced to a station of any authority in the state.—*Larcher.*

sanctuary and consult the goddess; the priestess, as he was about to open the doors, rose from her seat, and forbade him in these terms: "Lace-"dæmonian, return, presume not to enter here, "where no admittance is permitted to a Dorian." "I," returned Cleomenes, "am not a Dorian, "but an Achean." This omen, however, had no influence upon his conduct; he persevered in what he had undertaken, and with his Lacedæmonians was a second time[96] foiled. The Athenians who had joined themselves to him were put in irons, and condemned to die; amongst these was Timesitheus of Delphi, concerning whose gallantry and spirit I am able to produce many testimonies.—These Athenians were put to death in prison.

LXXIII. The Athenians having recalled Clisthenes, and the seven hundred families expelled by Cleomenes, sent ambassadors to Sardis, to form an alliance with the Persians; for they were well convinced that they should have to support a war against Cleomenes and Sparta. On their arrival at Sardis, and explaining the nature of

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96 *Second time.*]—See chapter lxiv. and lxv.—See also the Lysistratus of Aristophanes, verse 273.

"Non memini," says Reiske, "de primo Cleomenis irrito conatu Athenas occupandi in superioribus legere. Nam quod, p. 308, narravit non Cleomeni, sed Anchimolio id evenit."

their commission, Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and chief magistrate of Sardis, inquired of them who they were, and where they lived, who desired to become the allies of Persia. Being satisfied in this particular, he made them this abrupt proposition: if the Athenians would send to Darius earth and water, he would form an alliance with them, if not, they were immediately to depart. After deliberating on the subject, they acceded to the terms proposed, for which, on their return to Athens, they were severely reprehended.

LXXIV. Cleomenes knowing that he was reproached, and feeling that he was injured by the Athenians, levied forces in the different parts of the Peloponnese, without giving any intimation of the object he had in view. He proposed, however, to take vengeance on Athens, and to place the government in the hands of Isagoras, who with him had been driven from the citadel: with a great body of forces he himself took possession of Eleusis, whilst the Bœotians, as had been agreed upon, seized Oenoë and Hysias[95], towns in the extremity of Attica: on another side the Chalcidians laid waste the Athenian territories. The Athenians, however, perplexed by these

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95 *Hysias.*]—Larcher thinks that Hysias never constituted a part of Attica, and therefore, with Wesseling, wishes to read Phyle.—See Wesseling's note.

different attacks, deferred thesr revenge on the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and marched with their army against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis.

LXXV. Whilst the two armies were prepared to engage, the Corinthians first of all, as if conscious of their having acted an unjustifiable part, turned their backs and retired. Their example was followed by Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was also a king of Sparta, had conducted a body of forces from Lacedæmon, and till now had seconded Cleomenes in all his measures. On account of this dissension between their princes, the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the same time. They determined also, that one of the Tyndaridæ[98] should remain with the prince who was left at home, both of whom, till now, had accompanied them on foreign expeditions. The rest of the confederates at Eleusis, perceiving this disunion of the princes, and the secession of the Corinthians, returned to their respective homes.

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[98] *One of the Tyndaridæ.*]—It may perhaps be inferred from this passage, that the symbol or image representing Castor and Pollux, which before was one piece of wood, was separated into two distinct emblems. See Abbé Winckelman:—"Chez les Lacedæmoniens Castor et Pollux avoient la forme de deux morceaux de bois parallèles, joints par deux baguettes de traverse: et cette ancienne figure s'est conservée jusqu'à nous par le signe II, qui denote ces frères gemeaux du zodiaque.—*T.*

LXXVI. This was the fourth time that the Dorians had entered Attica, twice as enemies, and twice with pacific and friendly views. Their first expedition was to establish a colony at Megara, which was when Codrus [99] reigned at Athens. They came from Sparta the second and third time to expel the Pisistratidæ. The fourth time was when Cleomenes and the Peloponnesians attacked Eleusis.

LXXVII. The Athenians, observing the adversary's army thus ignominiously diminish, gave place to the desire of revenge, and determined first to attack the Chalcidians, to assist whom the Bœotians advanced as far as the Euripus [100]. On

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99 *Codrus.*]—Of this Codrus the following story is related:—The Dorians of the Peloponnese, as here mentioned, marched against the Athenians, and were promised success from the oracle of Delphi, provided they did not kill Codrus the Athenian prince. Cleomantis of Delphi gave intimation of this to the Athenians; upon which Codrus left his camp, in the habit of a beggar, mingled with the enemy's troops, and provoked some amongst them to kill him; when the Athenians sent to demand the body of their prince, the Peloponnesians, on hearing the incident, retreated.—*T.*

100 *Euripus.*]—This was the name of the very narrow streight between Bœotia and Eubœa, where the sea was said by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times a day. It was rendered more memorable, because Aristotle was reported here to have destroyed himself from mortification, being unable to explain the cause of this phænomenon. It afterward became an appellation for any streight of the sea.

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sight of them the Athenians resolved to attack them before the Chalcidians; they accordingly gave them battle, and obtained a complete victory, killing a prodigious number, and taking seven hundred prisoners. On the same day they passed into Eubœa, and fought the Chalcidians: over these also they were victorious, and they left a colony to the number of four thousand on the lands of the Hippobotæ[101], by which name the most opulent* of the Chalcidians were distinguished. Such of these as they took prisoners, as well as their Bœotian captives, they at first put in irons, and kept in close confinement: they afterwards suffered them to be ransomed at two minæ † a man, suspending their chains from the

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The circumstance of the ebb and flow of the sea in this place happening seven times a day, is thus mentioned in the Hercules of Seneca:

Euripus undas flectit instabilis vagas,
Septemque cursus volvit et totidem refert,
Dum lassa Titan mergat oceano juga. *T.*

101 *Hippobotæ*]—literally means keepers of horses, from ἱππος, a horse, and βοσκω, to feed.

* The soil of Eubœa not being well calculated to maintain horses, only the rich and powerful could keep any. Good pasturage was still less common in Attica, the keeping of horses was consequently ruinous. Strepsiades, reflecting on the debt he had contracted by giving twelve minæ for a horse for his son, says, I had better have had one of my eyes knocked out with a stone.—*Larcher.*

† This certainly seems an extravagant sum, as the Greeks

citadel. These were to be seen even within my memory, hanging from the walls which were burnt by the Medes, near the temple facing the west. The tenth part of the money produced from the ransom of their prisoners was consecrated; with it they purchased a chariot of brass[102] for four horses: it was placed at the left-hand side of the entrance of the citadel, with this inscription:

Her arms when Chalcis and Bœotia tried,
Athens in chains and darkness quell'd their pride:
Their ransom paid, the tenths are here bestow'd,
A votive gift to fav'ring Pallas ow'd.

LXXVIII. The Athenians continued to increase in number and importance: not from their example alone, but from various instances, it may be made appear that an equal form * of go

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were then not very rich. Nevertheless it appears from book vi. c. 79, that this was the fixed sum in the Peloponnese for the ransom of prisoners of war.—Two minæ were equal to about 6l. 10s. of our money.

[102] *Chariot of brass.*]—From the tenth of the spoils of the Bœotians, and of the people of Chalcis, they made a chariot of brass. *See Pausanias, Attic.* chap. xxviii.

* *Equal form.*]—On this subject Larcher thus expresses himself:

It is not equality of rank, of riches, or of honours, which is here intended, but of men's rights; equality in the distribution of justice, and in the dispensation of rewards and honours.

vernment is the best. Whilst the Athenians were in subjection to tyrants, they were superior in war to none of their neighbours, but when delivered from their oppressors, they far surpassed them all; from whence it is evident, that whilst under the restraint of a master, they were incapable of any spirited exertions, but as soon as they obtained their liberty, each man zealously exercised his talents on his own account.

LXXIX. The Thebans after this, desirous of obtaining revenge, sent to consult the oracle.—In reply, the Pythian assured them, that of themselves they would be unable to accomplish this. She recommended them to consult their popular assembly, and to apply to their nearest neighbours[103] for assistance. Those employed in this business called, on their return, an assembly of their countrymen, to whom they communicated the reply of the oracle. Hearing that they were required to ask assistance of their neighbours, they deliberated among themselves. "What!" said some of them, "do not the Tanagræi[104], the

What must Larcher's feelings now be, on seeing Bonaparte elevated to the dignity of Emperor!

[103] *Nearest neighbours.*]—The term των αγχιστα is ambiguous, and may be understood either of neighbours or relations.

[104] *Tanagræi.*]—The country of Tanagra, according to Pliny and others, was very celebrated for a breed of fighting

" Coronæi [105], and the Thespians [106], who are our " neighbours, constantly act in concert with us; " do they not always assist us, in war, with the " most friendly and spirited exertions? To these " there can be no occasion to apply; the oracle " must therefore have some other meaning."

LXXX. Whilst they were thus debating, some one among them exclaimed, "I think that I am " able to penetrate the meaning of the oracle; " Asopus [107] is reported to have had two daughters,

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cocks.—Jam ex his quidam (galli) ad bella tantum et prælia assidua nascuntur, quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt Rhodum ac Tanagram.—*Pliny*, x. 21.

Its modern name is Anatoria.—*T.*

105 *Coronæi.*]—Of Coronea a very singular circumstance is related, that whereas all the rest of Bœotia abounded with moles, not one was ever seen in Coronea.—*T.*

106 *Thespians.*]—Thespia was one of those cities considered by the ancients as sacred to the Muses, whence one of their names, Thespiades.—*T.*

107 *Asopus.*]—Oceanus and Tethys, as the story goes, amongst other sons after whom rivers were named, had also Peneus and Asopus; Peneus remained in the country now called Thessaly, and gave his name to the river which waters it. Asopus residing at Phlyus, married Merope, the daughter of Laden; by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus, and Ismenus, and twelve daughters, Cencyra, Salamis, Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespia, Asopis, Sinope, Ænia, and Chalcis. Ægina was carried away by Jupiter to the island which was called after her.

Asopus, informed of this by Sisyphus, pursued her; but Jupiter struck him with his thunder.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

"Thebe and Ægina; as these were sisters, I am "inclined to believe that the deity would have us "apply to the Æginetæ to assist us in obtaining "revenge." The Thebans, not being able to devise any more plausible interpretation, thought that they acted in conformity to the will of the oracle, by sending to the Æginetæ for assistance, as to their nearest neighbours, who, in return, engaged to send the Æacidæ[108] to their aid.

LXXXI. The Thebans, relying on the assistance of the Æacidæ, commenced hostilities with the Athenians, but they met with so ill a reception, that they determined to send back the Æacidæ, and to require the aid of some troops. The application was favourably received, and the Æginetæ, confident in their riches, and mindful of their ancient enmity with the Athenians, began hostilities against them, without any formal declaration of war. Whilst the forces of Athens were solely employed against the Bœotians, they passed over with a fleet into Attica, and not only

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[108] *Æacidæ.*]—M. Larcher, comparing this with a paragraph in the following chapter, is of opinion that Herodotus here speaks not of any persons, but of images representing the Æacidæ, which the Æginetæ lent the Thebans.—But to this it may be objected, that the Æginetæ were not in possession of these images at the period when the Thebans solicited their assistance.—See c. 89.

plundered Phaleros[109], but almost all the inhabitants of the coast; by which the Athenians sustained considerable injury.

LXXXII. The first occasion of the enmity between the Æginetæ and the Athenians was this:—The Epidaurians, being afflicted by a severe and continued famine, consulted the Delphic oracle; the Pythian enjoined them to erect statues to Damia and Auxesia[110], promising that their situation would then be amended. The Epidaurians next inquired, whether they should construct these statues of brass or of stone. The priestess replied, of neither, but of the wood of the garden-olive. The Epidaurians, in consequence, applied to the Athenians for permission to take one of their olives, believing these of all others the most sacred; indeed it is said, that at this period olives were no where else to be

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109 *Phaleros.*]—This place is now called Porto Leone.—*T.*

110 *Damia and Auxesia.*]—These were the same as Ceres and Proserpine: these goddesses procured fertility, and had a temple in Tegea, where they were called Carpophoræ. Pausanias relates the same fact as Herodotus, except that he calls the two goddesses Auxesia and Lamia.

They were also worshipped at Trœzene, but for different reasons: Damia was the Bona Dea of the Romans; she was also, according to Valcnaer, the same as the Roman Maia. —*Larcher.*

found [111]. The Athenians granted their request, on condition that they should every year furnish a sacrifice to Minerva Polias [112], and to Erectheus [113]. The Epidaurians acceding to these terms, constructed of the Athenian olive the figures which had been enjoined; and, as their lands immediately became fruitful, they punctually fulfilled their engagements with the Athenians.

LXXXIII. At and before this period, the Æginetæ were so far in subjection to the Epidaurians, that all subjects of litigation betwixt themselves and the people of Epidaurus were determined among the latter. In process of time, they built themselves a fleet, and revolted from their allegiance: becoming still more powerful,

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[111] *To be found.*]—This assertion was by no means true, and, as Larcher remarks, Herodotus knew it, but not choosing to hurt the pride of the Athenians, he admits the report, qualifying it with "it is said."

The olive, which loves a warm climate, was probably a native of the East, and was carried from thence to Greece.

[112] *Minerva Polias.*]—Patroness of the city; for the same reason she was called Poliouchos.

[113] *Erectheus*]—Was the sixth king of Athens, in whose reign Ceres came to Athens, and planted corn; not only he, but his daughters were received into the number of the gods.

Nostri quidem publicani, cum essent in Bœotiâ, deorum immortalium excepti lege censoria, negabant immortales esse ullos qui aliquando homines fuissent.—Sed si sunt hi dii, est certe Erectheus, cujus Athenis et delubrum vidimus et sacerdotem.—*Cic. de Nat. Deor.* iii. 19.

they made themselves masters of the sea, and plundered their former masters, carrying away the images of Damia and Auxesia. These they deposited in the centre of their own territories, in a place called Œa, about twenty stadia from their city; having done this, they instituted sacrifices in their honour, with ludicrous choruses of women[114], assigning to each of these goddesses ten men, who were to preside over the choruses. These choruses did not insult any male, but the females of the country. The Epidaurians had dances similar to these, with other ceremonies which were mysterious.

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[114] *Ludicrous choruses of women.*]—If Herodotus, where he says that the Epidaurians honoured the goddesses Damia and Auxesia χοροισι γυναικηϊοισι κερτομοισι, with choruses of women, that used to abuse and burlesque the women of the country, had called them χοροισι κωμικοισι, comical choruses, he had said nothing unworthy of a great historian; because those choruses of women were much of the same sort that were afterwards called comical.—*Bentley on Phalaris.*

Many of the sacred rites among the ancients were distinguished by rude and licentious festivity.—For example, the rites of Apollo at Delos, as described by Callimachus; the rites of Apollo Ægletas, as exhibited in Achaia; for an account of which consult Pausanias; in which men and women indulged in scoffing and mutual ribaldry. Such also distinguished the Thesmophoria in honour of Ceres, and the Saturnalia among the Romans. See also Apollonius Rhodius, b. 4. where Apollo is represented as soothed by the jocular festivity of the nymphs who accompanied Medea, and who mocked and scoffed at the companions of Jason.

LXXXIV. From the time of their losing these images, the Epidaurians ceased to observe their engagements with the Athenians, who sent to remonstrate with them on the occasion. They made reply, that in this respect they were guilty of no injustice, for as long as they possessed the images, they had fulfilled all that was expected from them; having lost these, their obligation became void, devolving from them to the Æginetæ. On receiving this answer, the Athenians sent to Ægina to demand the images, but the Æginetæ denied that the Athenians had any business with them.

LXXXV. The Athenians relate, that after this refusal of their demand, they sent the persons before employed in this business in a vessel to Ægina. As these images were made of the wood of Athens, they were commissioned to carry them away from the place where they stood; but their attempt to do this not succeeding, they endeavoured to remove them with ropes: in the midst of their efforts they were alarmed by an earthquake, with loud claps of thunder; those employed were seized with a madness, which caused them to kill one another; one only survived, who immediately fled to Phaleros.

LXXXVI. The above is the Athenian account. The Æginetæ affirm, that this expedition

was not made in a single vessel, for they could easily have repelled the attacks of one, or even of many vessels, even if they had possessed no ships of their own; but they say that the Athenians invaded them with a powerful fleet; in consequence of which they retired, not choosing to hazard a naval engagement. It is, however, by no means evident, whether they declined a sea-fight from a want of confidence in their own power, or whether they retired voluntarily and from design. It is certain that the Athenians, meeting with no resistance, advanced to the place where the images stood, and not able to separate them from their bases, they dragged them along with ropes; during which, both the figures did what seems incredible to me, whatever it may to others [115]. They assert, that they both fell upon their knees, in which attitude they have ever since remained. Such were the proceedings of the Athenians. The people of Ægina, according to their own account, hearing of the hostile intentions of the Athenians, took care that the

[115] *Whatever it may to others.*]—This is one of the numerous examples in Herodotus, which concur to prove, that the character of credulity, so universally imputed to our historian, ought to be somewhat qualified. For my own part, I am able to recollect very few passages indeed, where, relating any thing marvellous, or exceeding credibility, he does not at the same time intimate, in some form or other, his own suspicions of the fact.—*T.*

Argives should be ready to assist them. As soon, therefore, as the Athenians landed at Ægina, the Argives were at hand, and, unperceived by the enemy, passed over from Epidaurus to the island, whence intercepting their retreat to their ships, they fell upon the Athenians; at which moment of time an earthquake happened, accompanied with thunder.

LXXXVII. In their relation of the above circumstances, the Æginetæ and the Argives concur. The Athenians acknowledge, that one only of their countrymen returned to Attica; but this man, the Argives say, was the sole survivor of a defeat, which they gave the Athenians: whilst these affirm, that he escaped from the vengeance of the divinity, which, however, he did not long elude, for he afterwards perished in this manner: when he returned to Athens, and related at large the destruction of his countrymen, the wives of those who had been engaged in the expedition against Ægina were extremely exasperated that he alone should survive; they accordingly surrounded the man, and each of them asking for her husband, they wounded him with the clasps [116]

116 *With the clasps.*]—The Greeks called the clasp or buckle with which they fastened their garments, περονη, and sometimes πορπη: the Latins for the same thing used the word *fibula*. Various specimens of ancient clasps or buckles may be seen

of their garments, till he died. This behaviour of their women was more afflicting to the Athenians than the misfortune which preceded it; all however they could do was to make them afterwards assume the Ionian dress. Before this incident, the women of Athens wore the Doric vest, which much resembles the Corinthian; that they might have no occasion for clasps, they obliged them to wear linen tunics.

LXXXVIII. It seems reasonable to believe,

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in Montfaucon, the generality of which resemble a bow that is strung. Montfaucon rejects the opinion of those who affirm, that the buckles of which various ancient specimens were preserved, were only styli, or instruments to write with. —"The styli," he adds, "were long pins, and much stronger than the pins with which they fastened the buckles anciently." When Julius Cæsar was assassinated, he defended himself with his stylus, and thrust it through the arm of Casca. When the learned Frenchman says, that the ancient clasps or buckles could not possibly serve for offensive weapons, he probably was not acquainted with the fact here mentioned by Herodotus. An elegant use is made by Homer, of the probability of a wound's being inflicted by a clasp: when Venus, having been wounded by Diomed, retires from the field, Minerva says sarcastically to Jupiter,

Permit thy daughter, gracious Jove, to tell
How this mischance the Cyprian queen befell;
As late she tried with passion to inflame
The tender bosom of a Grecian dame,
Allur'd the fair with moving thoughts of joy,
To quit her country for some youth of Troy;
The clasping zone, with golden buckles bound,
Rased her soft hand with this lamented wound. *T.*

that this vest was not originally Ionian, but Carian: formerly the dress of the Grecian females was universally the same with what we now call Dorian. It is reported, that the Argives and the Æginetæ, in opposition to the above ordinance of the Athenians, directed their women to wear clasps, almost twice as large as usual, and ordained these to be the particular votive offering made by the women in the temples of the above divinities. They were suffered to offer there nothing which was Attic; even the common earthen vessels were prohibited, of which they were allowed to use none but what were made in their own country. Such, even to my time, has been the contradictory spirit of the women of Argos and Ægina, with respect to those of Athens, that the former have persevered in wearing their clasps larger than before.

LXXXIX. This which I have related, was the origin of the animosity between the people of Athens and Ægina. The latter, still having in mind the old grievance of the statues, readily yielded to the solicitations of the Thebans, and assisted the Bœotians, by ravaging the coasts of Attica. Whilst the Athenians were preparing to revenge the injury, they were warned by a communication from the Delphic oracle, to refrain from all hostilities with the people of Ægina for the space of thirty years: at the termination of

this period they were to erect a fane to Æacus, and might then commence offensive operations against the Æginetæ with success; but if they immediately began hostilities, although they would do the enemy essential injury, and finally subdue them, they would in the interval suffer much themselves. On receiving this communication from the oracle, the Athenians erected a sacred edifice to Æacus[117], which may now be seen in their forum; but notwithstanding the menace impending over them, they were unable to defer the prosecution of their revenge for the long period of thirty years.

XC. Whilst they were thus preparing for revenge, their designs were impeded by what happened at Lacedæmon. The Spartans having discovered the intrigues between the Alcmæonidæ and the Pythian, and what this last had done

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[117] *Æacus.*]—The genealogy of Æacus is related in Ovid, book xiii. The circumstance of Jupiter, at the request of Æacus, turning ants into men, who were called from thence Myrmidons, may be found in Ovid. book vii.—

Myrmidonasque voco, nec origine nomina fraudo;
Corpora vidisti; mores, quos ante gerebant,
Nunc quoque habent; parcum genus est, patiensque laborum,
Quæsitique tenax, et qui quæsita reservent.

The word Myrmidons has been anglicised, and is used to express any bold hardy ruffians, by no less authority than Swift.—T.

against the Pisistratidæ and themselves, perceived that they were involved in a double disappointment. Without at all conciliating the Athenians, they had expelled from thence their own friends and allies. They were also seriously impressed by certain oracles, which taught them to expect from the Athenians many and great calamities. Of these they were entirely ignorant, till they were made known by Cleomenes at Sparta. Cleomenes had discovered and seized them* in the citadel of Athens, where they had been originally deposited by the Pisistratidæ, who, on being expelled, had left them in the temple.

XCI. On hearing from Cleomenes the above oracular declarations, the Lacedæmonians observed that the Athenians increased in power, and were but little inclined to remain subject to them; they farther reflected, that though when oppressed by tyrants, the people of Athens were weak and submissive, the possession of liberty would not fail to make them formidable rivals. In consequence of these deliberations, they sent for Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum on the Hellespont, where the Pisistratidæ had taken

* That is to say, the Oracular declarations which were every where carefully preserved and implicitly believed, notwithstanding the frequent discovery of deceit, fraud, and falsehood, in the persons who delivered them.

refuge." On his arrival, they assembled also the representatives of their other allies, and thus expressed themselves: "We confess to you, friends "and allies, that under the impression of oracles, "which deceived us, we have greatly erred. The "men who had claims upon our kindness, and "who would have rendered Athens obedient to "our will, we have banished from their country, "and have delivered that city into the power of "an ungrateful faction. Not remembering that "to us they are indebted for their liberty, they are "become insolent, and have expelled disgracefully "from among them, us and our king. They are "endeavouring, we hear, to make themselves "more and more formidable: this their neighbours the Bœotians and Chalcidians have "already experienced, as will others also who "may happen to offend them. To atone for our "past errors and neglect, we now profess ourselves ready to assist you in chastising them: "for this reason, we have sent for Hippias, and "assembled you; intending, by the joint operations of one united army, to restore him to "Athens, and to that dignity of which we formerly deprived him."

XCII. These sentiments of the Spartans were approved by very few of the confederates. After a long interval of silence, Sosicles of Corinth made this reply: "We may henceforth certainly

" expect to see the heavens take the place of the
" earth[118], the earth that of the heavens; to see
" mankind exsiting in the waters, and the scaly
" tribe on earth, since you, O Lacedæmonians,
" meditate the subversion of free and equal go-
" vernments, and the establishment of arbitrary
" power; than which surely nothing can be more
" unjust in itself, or more destructive in its effects.
" If you consider tyranny with so favourable an
" eye, before you think of introducing it else-
" where, show us the example, and submit first
" to a tyrant yourselves: at present, you are
" not only without a tyrant, but it should seem,
" that in Sparta, nothing can be guarded against
" with more vigilant anxiety; why then wish to
" involve your confederates in what to you ap-
" pears so great a calamity; a calamity which
" like us if you had known, experience would
" doubtless have prompted a more sagacious coun-
" sel? The government of Corinth was formerly

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[118] *Take the place of the earth.*]—With a sentiment similar to this, Ovid commences one of his most beautiful elegies:

In caput alta suum labentur ab æquore retro
Flumina, conversis solque recurret equis;
Terra feret stellas, cœlum findetur aratro,
Unda dabit flammas, et dabit ignis aquas;
Omnia naturæ præpostera legibus ibunt,
Parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter.
Omnia jam fient fieri quæ posse negabam,
Et nihil est de quo non sit habenda fides. T.

" in the hands of a few;" they who were called " the Bacchiadæ [119] had the administration of " affairs. To cement and confirm their authority, " they were careful to contract no marriages but " among themselves. One of these, whose name " was Amphion, had a daughter called Labda [120], " who was lame. As none of the Bacchiadæ were " willing to marry her, they united her to Eetion, " son of Echecrates, who, though of the low " tribe of Petra, was in his origin one of the

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[119] *Bacchiadæ.*]—Pausanias and Diodorus Siculus are a little at variance with this author in their accounts of the Bacchiadæ. The matter however seems from them all to be this: Bacchis was one of the Heraclidæ, and prince of Corinth; on account of his splendid character and virtues, his descendants took the name of Bacchiadæ, which, with the sovereignty of Corinth, they retained till they were expelled by Cypselus.—*T.*

[120] *Labda.*]—This, says M. Larcher, was not her real name, but was given her on account of the resemblance which her lameness made her bear to the letter L, or Lambda. Anciently the letter Lambda was called Labda. It was a common custom amongst the ancients to give as nicknames the letters of the alphabet. Æsop was called Theta, by his master Iadmus, from his superior acuteness. Thetes being also a name for slaves. Galerius Crassus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius, was called Beta, because he loved Beet (poirée). Orpyllis, a courtesan of Cyzicum, was named Gamma; Anthenor, who wrote the history of Crete, was called Delta; Apollonius, who lived in the time of Philopater, was named Epsilon, &c.—*Larcher.*

" Lapithæ[121], descended from Cæneus[122]. As " he had no children by this or by any other wife, " he sent to Delphi to consult the oracle on this " subject. At the moment of his entering the " temple, he was thus addressed by the Pythian:

" Eetion, honour'd far below thy worth;
" Know, Labda shall produce a monstrous birth,
" A stone, which, rolling with enormous weight,
" Shall crush usurpers, and reform the state.

" This prediction to Eetion came by accident to " the ears of the Bacchiadæ. An oracle had be- " fore spoken concerning Corinth, which, though " dark and obscure, was evidently of the same " tendency with that declared to Eetion: it was " this:—

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[121] *Lapithæ.*]—The Lapithæ were celebrated in antiquity as being the first people who used bridles and harness for horses.

Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ gyrosque dedere
Impositi dorso. *Virgil.*

[122] *Cæneus.*]—The story of Cæneus is this: Cænis was a virgin, and was ravished by Neptune, who afterwards, at her request, turned her into a man, and caused her to be invulnerable. After this change of sex his name also was changed to Cæneus; he then fought with the Lapithæ against the Centaurs, who not able otherwise to destroy him, overwhelmed him beneath a pile of wood. Ovid says he was then turned into a bird; Virgil, on the contrary, asserts, that he resumed his former sex.—*T.*

" Amidst the rocks an eagle [123] shall produce
" An eagle, who shall many knees unloose,
" Bloody and strong: guard then your measures
" well;
" Ye who in Corinth and Pirene[124] dwell!

" When this oracle was first delivered to the Bac-
" chiadæ, they had no conception of its meaning;
" but as soon as they learned the particulars
" of that given to Eetion, they understood the
" first from the last. The result was, that they
" confined the secret to themselves, determining
" to destroy the future child of Eetion. As soon
" as the woman was delivered, they commissioned
" ten of their number to go to the place where
" Eetion lived, and make away with the infant.
" As soon as they came to where the tribe of
" Petra resided, they went to Eetion's house,
" and asked for the child: Labda, ignorant of
" their intentions, and imputing this visit to their
" friendship for her husband, produced her in-
" fant, and gave it into the arms of one of them.
" It had been concerted, that whoever should
" first have the child in his hands, was to dash
" it on the ground: it happened, as if by divine

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[123] *An Eagle.*]—Eetion is derived from the Greek word αετος, an eagle.

[124] *Pirene.*]—This fountain was sacred to the Muses, and remarkable for the sweetness of its waters.

" interposition, that the infant smiled in the " face [125] of the man to whom the mother had " intrusted it. He was seized with an emotion " of pity, and found himself unable to destroy it; " with these feelings, he gave the child to the per- " son next him, who gave it to a third, till thus " it passed through the hands of all the ten; no " one of them was able to murder it, and it was re- " turned to the mother. On leaving the house, " they stopped at the gate, and began to reproach " and accuse each other, but particularly him " who first receiving the child, had failed in his " engagements. After a short interval, they " agreed to enter the house again, and jointly " destroy the child: but fate had determined that " the offspring of Eetion should ultimately prove " the destruction of Corinth. Labda, standing " near the gate, had overheard their discourse,

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[125] *Smiled in the face.*]—The effects of an infant smiling in the face of rude untutored men, is delightfully expressed in part of an ode on the use and abuse of poetry, preserved by Warton, in his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.

Father of peace and arts—he first the city built;
No more the neighbour's blood was by his neighbour spilt;
He taught to till and separate the lands;
He fix'd the roving youths in Hymen's myrtle bands,
Whence dear domestic life began,
And all the charities that soften'd man:
The babes that in their fathers' faces smil'd,
With lisping blandishments their rage beguil'd,
And tender thoughts inspired.

" and fearing that as their sentiments were " changed, they would infallibly, if they had " opportunity, murder her infant, she carried it " away, and hid it in a place little obvious to " suspicion, namely, in a corn measure[126]. She " was satisfied, that on their return they would " make a strict search after the child, which ac- " cordingly happened: finding however all their " diligence ineffectual, they thought it only re- " mained for them to return and acquaint their " employers, that they had executed their com- " mission. When the son of Eetion grew up, he " was called Cypselus, in memory of the danger " he had escaped in the 'corn measure,' the " meaning of the word Cypsela. On his arrival " at manhood, he consulted the Delphic oracle; " the answer he received was ambiguous; but " confident of its favourable meaning, he attacked " and made himself master of Corinth. The " oracle was this:—

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[126] *In a corn measure.*]—The description of this chest, which was preserved in the temple of Juno at Olympia, employs several chapters in the fifth book of Pausanias. He tells us that the chest was made of cedar, and that its outside was enriched with animals, and a variety of historical representations in cedar, ivory, and gold. "It is not likely," says M. Larcher, "that the chest described by Pausanias was the real chest in which Cypselus was preserved, but one made on purpose to commemorate the incident."—*T.*

" Behold a man whom fortune makes her care,
" Corinthian Cypselus, Eetion's heir;
" Himself shall reign, his children too prevail,
" But there the glories of his race must fail.

" When Cypselus had obtained possession of the " government, he persecuted the inhabitants of " Corinth, depriving many of their wealth, and " more of their lives. After an undisturbed " reign of thirty years, he was succeeded by his " son Periander, who at first adopted a milder " and more moderate conduct; but having by his " emissaries formed an intimate connexion with " Thrasybulus, sovereign of Miletus, he even " exceeded his father in cruelty. The object of " one of his embassies was to inquire of Thrasy- " bulus what mode of government would render " his authority most secure and most honourable. " Thrasybulus conducted the messenger to a corn- " field without the town, where, as he walked up " and down, he asked some questions of the man " relative to his departure from Corinth; in the " mean while, wherever he discerned a head of " corn taller than the rest[127], he cut it off, till

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127 *Taller than the rest.*]—A similar story is told of Tarquin the Proud, and his son Sextus, who striking off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden, thus intimated his desire that his son should destroy the most eminent characters of

" all the highest and the richest were levelled with " the ground. Having gone over the whole field " in this manner, he retired, without speaking a " word to the person who attended him. On the " return of his emissary to Corinth, Periander " was extremely anxious to learn the result of his " journey, but he was informed, that Thrasybulus " had never said a word in reply; that he even " appeared to be a man deprived of his reason, " and bent on the destruction of his own pro- " perty. The messenger then proceeded to in- " form his master of what Thrasybulus had done. " Periander immediately conceived the meaning " of Thrasybulus to be, that he should destroy " the most illustrious of his citizens. He in con- " sequence exercised every species of cruelty, till " he completed what his father Cypselus had " begun, killing some, and driving others into " exile. On account of his wife Melissa, he one " day stripped all the women of Corinth of their " clothes. He had sent into Thesprotia, near " the river Acheron, to consult the oracle of the " dead*, concerning something of value which

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Gabii, of which he was endeavouring by stratagem to make himself master.—See *Livy*, b. i. ch. 54. It is remarkable that Aristotle in his Politics twice mentions this enigmatical advice as given by Periander to Thrasybulus.—*T.*

* *The oracle of the dead.*]—Νεκρομαντηῖον, a place where divination was carried on by calling up the dead with magical

" had been left by a stranger. Melissa appear-
" ing, declared that she would by no means tell
" where the thing required was deposited, for she
" was cold and naked; for the garments in which
" she was interred were of no service to her, not
" having been burned. In proof of which, she
" asserted, that Periander had 'put bread into a
" cold oven;' Periander, on hearing this, was
" satisfied of the truth of what she said, for he
" had embraced Melissa after her decease. On
" the return therefore of his messengers, he com-
" manded all the women of Corinth to assemble
" at the temple of Juno. On this occasion the
" women came as to some public festival, adorned
" with the greatest splendour. The king, hav-
" ing placed his guards for the purpose, caused
" them all to be stripped, free women and
" slaves, without distinction. Their clothes were
" afterwards disposed in a large trench, and
" burned in honour of Melissa, who was solemnly
" invoked on the occasion. When this was done,
" a second messenger was dispatched to Melissa,
" who now vouchsafed to say where the thing
" required might be found.—Such, O men of
" Sparta, is a tyrannical government, and such

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rites. Pausanias places this oracle at Aornos in Thesprotia. The superstitions of Italy seem to have been borrowed from that country; hence Cicero mentions an oracle of the same kind at the lake Avernus in Italy.—*Tusc.* i. 16.

"its effects. Much therefore were we Corin-
"thians astonished, when we learned that you
"had sent for Hippias; but the declaration of
"your sentiments surprises us still more. We
"adjure you, therefore, in the names of the di-
"vinities of Greece, not to establish tyranny in
"our cities. But if you are determined in your
"purpose, and are resolved, in opposition to what
"is just, to restore Hippias, be assured that the
"Corinthians will not second you.*"

XCIII. Sosicles, the deputy of the Corinthians, having delivered his sentiments, was answered by Hippias. He having adjured the same divinities, declared, that the Corinthians would most of all have occasion to regret the Pisistratidæ, when the destined hour should arrive, and they should groan under the oppression of the Athenians. Hippias spoke with the greater confidence, because he was best acquainted with the declarations of the oracles. The rest of the confederates, who had hitherto been silent, hearing the generous sentiments of Sosicles, declared themselves the friends of freedom, and favourers of the opinions of the Corinthians. They then conjured the La-

* The Corinthians, says Larcher, did not always retain this generosity of sentiment. When Athens was captured by the Lacedæmonians at the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians advised that it should be utterly destroyed.

cedæmonians to introduce no innovations which might affect the liberties of a Grecian city.

XCIV. When Hippias departed from Sparta, Amyntas the Macedonian prince offered him for a residence, Anthemos, as did the Thessalians, Iolcos [128]; but he would accept of neither, and returned to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken by force from the people of Mitylene. He had appointed Hegesistratus, his natural son by a woman of Argos, governor of the place, who did not retain his situation without much and violent contest. The people of Mitylene and of Athens issuing, the one from the city of Achillea [129], the other from Sigeum, were long engaged in hostilities. They of Mitylene insisted on the restoration of what had been violently taken from them; but it was answered, that the Æolians had no stronger claims upon the territories of Troy, than the Athenians themselves, and the rest of the Greeks, who had assisted Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen.

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[128] *Iolcos.*]—This place is now called Iaco; we learn from Horace, that it was formerly famous for producing poisonous plants:

Herbasque quas Iolcos atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax.

[129] *Achillea.*]—In the fourth book, Herodotus calls this place the Course of Achilles. Its modern name is Fiodonisi. —*T.*

XCV. Among their various encounters it happened, that in a severe engagement, in which the Athenians had the advantage, the poet Alcæus [130]

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[130] *Alcæus*]—Was a native of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos; he was cotemporary with Sappho, and generally is considered as the inventor of lyric poetry. Archilochus, Alcæus, and Horace, were all unsuccessful in their attempts to distinguish themselves as soldiers; and all of them ingenuously acknowledged their inferiority in this respect. Bayle doubts whether Horace would have confessed his disgrace, if he had not been sanctioned by the great examples above mentioned. However that may be, he writes thus of himself:

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relicta non bene parmula
Quum fracta virtus et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.

Of Alcæus we have very few remains; but it is understood that Horace in many of his odes minutely imitated him. The principal subjects of his muse seem to have been the praise of liberty and hatred of tyrants. The ancient poets abound with passages in his honour, and his memory receives no disgrace from the following apostrophe by Akenside, in his ode on lyric poetry:

Broke from the fetters of his native land,
Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
With louder impulse and a threatening hand
The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords.
Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
Ye curs'd of gods and free-born men,
Ye murderers of the laws,
Tho' now ye glory in your lust,
Tho' now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause.

After

fled from the field. The Athenians obtained his arms, and suspended them at Sigeum, in the temple of Minerva. Alcæus recorded the event in a poem which he sent to Mitylene, explaining to a friend named Melanippus, the particulars of his misfortune. Periander, the son of Cypselus, at length re-united the contending nations: he being chosen arbiter, determined that each party should retain what they possessed. Sigeum thus devolved to the Athenians.

XCVI. Hippias, when he left Sparta, went to

After all, Alcæus does not appear to have been one of the fairest characters of antiquity, and has probably received more commendation than he deserved. His house, we learn from Athenæus, was filled with military weapons; his great desire was to attain military glory; but in his first engagement with an enemy, he ignominiously fled. The theme of his songs was liberty, but he was strongly suspected of being a secret friend to some who meditated the ruin of their country. I say nothing of his supposed licentious overture to Sappho, thinking with Bayle, that the verses cited by Aristotle have been too hardly construed. Of these verses the following is an imperfect translation:

ALCÆUS.

I wish to speak, but still thro' shame conceal
The thoughts my tongue most gladly would reveal.

SAPPHO.

Were your request, O Bard, on virtue built,
Your cheeks would wear no marks of secret guilt;
But in prompt words the ready thought had flown,
And your heart's honest meaning quickly shown.

I give them, with some slight alteration, from Bayle.—*T.*

Asia, where he used every effort to render the Athenians odious to Artaphernes, and to prevail on him to make them subject to him and to Darius. As soon as the intrigues of Hippias were known at Athens, the Athenians dispatched emissaries to Sardis, entreating the Persians to place no confidence in men whom they had driven into exile. Artaphernes informed them in reply, that if they wished for peace, they must recal Hippias. Rather than accede to these conditions, the Athenians chose to be considered as the enemies of Persia.

XCVII. Whilst they were resolving on these measures, in consequence of the impression which had been made to their prejudice in Persia, Aristagoras the Milesian, being driven by Cleomenes from Sparta, arrived at Athens, which city was then powerful beyond the rest of its neighbours. When Aristagoras appeared in the public assembly, he enumerated, as he had done in Sparta, the riches which Asia possessed, and recommended a Persian war, in which they would be easily successful against a people using neither spear nor shield[131]. In addition to this, he re-

131 *Spear nor shield.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations may be found in the seventh book of Herodotus, where he speaks of the nations which composed the prodigious armament of Xerxes.—*T.*

marked that Miletus was an Athenian colony, and that consequently it became the Athenians to exert the great power they possessed, in favour of the Milesians. He proceeded to make use of the most earnest entreaties and lavish promises, till they finally acceded to his views. He thought, and as it appeared with justice, that it was far easier to delude a great multitude than a single individual; he was unable to prevail upon Cleomenes, but he won to his purpose no less than thirty thousand[132] Athenians. The people of Athens accordingly agreed to send to the assistance of the Ionians, twenty vessels of war, of which Melanthius, a very amiable and popular character, was to have the command. This fleet was the source of the calamities[133] which afterwards ensued to the Grecks and Barbarians.

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[132] *Thirty thousand.*]—Herodotus is the only ancient author who makes the aggregate of the Athenians amount to more than twenty-one thousand individuals. Is this, inquires M. Larcher, a fault of the copyists, or were the Athenians more populous before the Persian and Peloponnesian wars? "The narrow policy," observes Mr. Gibbon, "of preserving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked the fortune, and hastened the ruin of Athens and Sparta. The aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent as well as honourable, to adopt virtue and merit for her own, wheresoever they were found, among slaves or strangers, enemies or barbarians."

[133] *Source of the calamities.*]—This is another of the examples which Plutarch adduces in proof of the malice of

XCVIII. Before their departure, Aristagoras returned to Miletus, where he contrived a measure from which no advantage could possibly result to the Ionians. Indeed, his principal motive was to distress Darius. He dispatched a messenger into Phrygia, to those Pæonians who from the banks of the Strymon had been led away captive by Megabyzus, and who inhabited a district appropriated to them. His emissaries thus addressed them; "Men of Pæonia, I am commis-"sioned by Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, to "say, that if you will follow his counsel, you "may be free. The whole of Ionia has revolted "from Persia, and it becomes you to seize this "opportunity of returning to your native country. "You have only to appear on the banks of the "ocean; we will provide for the rest." The Pæonians received this information with great satisfaction, and with their wives and children fled towards the sea. Some, however, yielding to their fears, remained behind. From the sea-coast they passed over to Chios: here they had

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Herodotus. "He has the audacity," says Plutarch, "to affirm, that the vessels which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Ionians, who had revolted from the Persians, were the cause of the evils which afterwards ensued, merely because they endeavoured to deliver so many, and such illustrious Grecian cities from servitude." In point of argument, a weaker tract than this of Plutarch was never written; and this assertion in particular is too absurd to require any formal refutation.—*T.*

scarcely disembarked, before a large body of Persian cavalry, sent in pursuit of them, appeared on the opposite shore. Unable to overtake them, they sent over to them at Chios, soliciting their return. This, however, had no effect: from Chios they were transported to Lesbos, from Lesbos to Doriscus[134], and from hence they proceeded by land to Pæonia.

XCIX. At this juncture, Aristagoras was joined by the Athenians in twenty vessels, who were also accompanied by five triremes of Eretrians. These latter did not engage in the contest from any regard for the Athenians, but to discharge a similar debt of friendship to the Milesians. The Milesians had formerly assisted the Eretrians against the Chalcidians, when the Samians had united with them against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these and the rest of his confederates were assembled, Aristagoras commenced an expedition against Sardis: he himself continued at Miletus, whilst his brother Charopinus commanded the Milesians, and Hermophantus had the conduct of the allies.

C. The Ionians arriving with their fleet at Ephesus, disembarked at Coressus, a place in its

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[134] *Doriscus.*]—Doriscus is memorable for being the place where Xerxes numbered his army.—*T.*

vicinity. Taking some Ephesians for their guides, they advanced with a formidable force, directing their march towards the Cayster [135]. Passing over mount Tmolus, they arrived at Sardis, where meeting no resistance they made themselves masters of the whole of the city, except the citadel. This was defended by Artaphernes himself, with a large body of troops.

CI. The following incident preserved the city from plunder: the houses of Sardis[136] were in general constructed of reeds; the few which were of brick had reed coverings. One of these being set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house, till the whole city was consumed. In the midst of the conflagration, the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, seeing themselves surrounded by the flames, and without the possibility of escape, rushed in crowds to the

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135 *Cayster.*]—This river was very famous in classic story It anciently abounded with swans, and from its serpentine course has sometimes been confounded with the Mæander: but the Mæander was the appropriate river of the Milesians, as the Cayster was of the Ephesians.—The Turks call the Cayster the Little (Kutchuck) Meinder, Mæander, and the proper Mæander the Great or Bujack Meinder.

136 *Sardis.*]—The reader will recollect that Sardis was the capital of Crœsus, which is here represented as consisting only of a number of thatched houses, a proof that architecture had as yet made no progress.—*T.*

forum, through the centre of which, flows the Pactolus. This river brings, in its descent from mount Tmolus, a quantity of gold dust[137]; passing, as we have described, through Sardis, it mixes with the Hermus, till both are finally lost in the sea. The Persians and Lydians, thus reduced to the last extremity, were compelled to act on the defensive. The Ionians seeing some of the enemy prepared to defend themselves, others advancing to attack them, were seized with a panic, and retired to mount Tmolus[138], from whence, under favour of the night, they retreated to their ships.

CII. In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of the country, was totally destroyed, which was afterwards made a pretence by the Persians, for burning the temples of the Greeks. When the Persians, who dwell on

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[137] *Gold dust.*]—It had ceased to do this in the time of Strabo, that is to say, in the age of Augustus.—*Larcher.*

[138] *Tmolus.*]—Strabo enumerates mount Tmolus among the places which produced the most excellent vines. It was celebrated for its saffron.—See Virgil.

Nonne vides croceos ut Tmolus odores, &c.

It was also called Timolus. See Ovid.

Deseruere sui nymphæ vineta Timoli.

The Turks call Mount Tmolus, Boaz Dag, that is, the Icy or Snowy Mountains.

this side the Halys, were acquainted with the above invasion, they determined to assist the Lydians. Following the Ionians regularly from Sardis, they came up with them at Ephesus. A general engagement ensued, in which the Ionians were defeated with great slaughter. Among others of distinction who fell, was Eualcis, chief of the Eretrians: he had frequently been victorious in many contests, of which a garland was the reward; and had been particularly celebrated by Simonides of Ceos[139]. They who escaped from this battle, took refuge in the different cities.

CIII. After the event of the above expedition, the Athenians withdrew themselves entirely from

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139 *Simonides of Ceos.*]—There were several poets of this name; the celebrated satire against women was written by another and more modern Simonides. The great excellence of this Simonides of Ceos was elegiac composition, in which Dionysius Halicarnassus does not scruple to prefer him to Pindar. The invention of local memory was ascribed to him, and it is not a little remarkable, that at the age of eighty, he contended for and won a poetical prize. His most memorable saying was concerning God. Hiero asked him what God was? After many and reiterated delays, his answer was, "The longer I meditate upon it, the more obscure the subject appears to me." He is reproached for having been the first who prostituted his muse for mercenary purposes. Bayle seems to have collected every thing of moment relative to this Simonides, to whom for more minute particulars, I refer the reader.—*T.*

the Ionians, and refused all the solicitations of Aristagoras by his ambassadors, to repeat their assistance. The Ionians, though deprived of this resource, continued with no less alacrity to persevere in the hostilities they had commenced against Darius. They sailed to the Hellespont, and reduced Byzantium, with the neighbouring cities: quitting that part again, and advancing to Caria, the greater part of the inhabitants joined them in their offensive operations. The city of Caunus, which at first had refused their alliance, after the burning of Sardis, added itself to their forces.

CIV. The confederacy was also farther strengthened by the voluntary accession of all the Cyprians, except the Amathusians[140]. The following was the occasion of the revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes: Gorgus prince of Salamis, son of Chersis, grandson of Siromus, great grandson of Euelthon, had a younger brother, whose name was Onesilus; this man had repeatedly solicited Gorgus to revolt from the Persians; and on hearing of the secession of the

140 *Amathusians.*]—From Amathus, which was sacred to Venus, the whole island of Cyprus was sometimes called Amathusia.—According to Ovid, it produced abundance of metals.

Gravidamque Amathunta metallis. *T.*

Ionians, he urged him with still greater importunity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, assisted by his party, he took an opportunity of his brother's making his excursion from Salamis, to shut the gates against him: Gorgus, thus deprived of his city, took refuge among the Medes. Onesilus usurped his station, and persuaded the Cyprians to rebel. The Amathusians, who alone opposed him, he closely besieged.

CV. At this period, Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras of Miletus was the principal instigator of the confederacy against him. On first receiving the intelligence, he is said to have treated the revolt of the Ionians with extreme contempt, as if certain that it was impossible for them to escape his indignation; but he desired to know who the Athenians were? On being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed:—"Suffer "me, O Jupiter, to be revenged on these Athe-"nians." He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he sat down to table, "Sir, remember the "Athenians."

CVI. After giving these orders, Darius summoned to his presence Histiæus of Miletus, whom he had long detained at his court. He addressed

him thus: "I am informed, Histiæus, that the "man to whom you intrusted the government of "Miletus, has excited a rebellion against me; "he has procured forces from the opposite con- "tinent, and seduced the Ionians, whom I shall "unquestionably chastise, from their duty. "With their united assistance, he has destroyed "my city of Sardis. Can such a conduct pos- "sibly meet with your approbation? or, unad- "vised by you, could he have done what he has? "Be careful not to involve yourself in a second "offence against my authority." "Can you, "Sir, believe," said Histiæus in reply, "that I "would be concerned in any thing which might "occasion the smallest perplexity to you? What "should I, who have nothing to wish for, gain "by such conduct? Do I not participate all "that you yourself enjoy; and have I not the "honour of being your counsellor and your "friend? If my representative has acted as you "allege, it is entirely his own deed; but I can- "not easily be persuaded that either he, or the "Milesians, would engage in any thing to your "prejudice. If, nevertheless, what you intimate "be really true, by withdrawing me from my "own proper station, you have only to blame "yourself for the event. I suppose that the "Ionians have taken the opportunity of my ab- "sence, to accomplish what they have for a long

"time meditated. Had I been present in Ionia, "I will venture to affirm, that not a city would "have revolted from your power: you have only "therefore to send me instantly to Ionia, that "things may resume their former situation, and "that I may give into your power the present "governor of Miletus, who has occasioned all "this mischief. Having first effected this, I "swear by the deities of Heaven, that I will not "change the garb in which I shall set foot in "Ionia, without rendering the great island of "Sardinia[141] tributary to your power."

CVII. Histiæus made these protestations to delude Darius. The king was influenced by what he said, only requiring his return to Susa, as soon as he should have fulfilled his engagements.

CVIII. In this interval, when the messenger from Sardis had informed Darius of the fate of that city, and the king had shot an arrow in the manner I have described; and when, after con-

[141] *Sardinia.*]—It has been doubted by many, whether on account of the vast distance of Sardinia from the Asiatic continent, the text of Herodotus has not here been altered. Rollin in particular is very incredulous on the subject; but as it appears by the preceding passages of this author, that the Ionians had penetrated to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and were not unacquainted with Corsica, all appearance of improbability in this narration ceases.—*T.*

ferring with Histiæus, he had dismissed him to Ionia, the following incident occurred: Onesilus of Salamis being engaged in the siege of Amathus, word was brought him that Artybius, a Persian officer, was on his way to Cyprus with a large fleet, and a formidable body of Persians. On hearing this, Onesilus sent messengers to different parts of Ionia, expressing his want and desire of assistance. The Ionians, without hesitation, hastened to join him with a numerous fleet. Whilst they were already at Cyprus, the Persians had passed over from Cilicia, and were proceeding by land to Salamis. The Phœnicians in the mean time had passed the promontory which is called the Key of Cyprus.

CIX. Whilst things were in this situation, the princes of Cyprus assembled the Ionian chiefs, and thus addressed them:—"Men of Ionia, we "submit to your determination, whether you "will engage the Phœnicians or the Persians. "If you rather choose to fight on land, and with "the Persians, it is time for you to disembark, "that we may go on board your vessels, and at- "tack the Phœnicians.—If you think it more "advisable to encounter the Phœnicians, it "becomes you to do so immediately.—Decide "which way you please, that as far as our efforts "can prevail, Ionia and Cyprus may be free." "We have been commissioned," answered the

Ionians, "by our country, to guard the ocean; "not to deliver up our vessels unto you, nor to en- "gage the Persians by land.—We will endeavour "to discharge our duty in the station appointed "us; it is for you to distinguish yourselves as "valiant men, remembering the oppressions you "have endured from the Medes."

CX. When the Persians were drawn up before Salamis, the Cyprian commanders placed the forces of Cyprus against the auxiliaries of the enemy, selecting the flower of Salamis and Soli to oppose the Persians: Onesilus voluntarily stationed himself against Artybius the Persian general.

CXI. Artybius was mounted on a charger, which had been taught to face a man in complete armour: Onesilus hearing this, called to him his shield-bearer, who was a Carian of great military experience, and of undaunted courage:—"I hear," "says he, "that the horse of Artybius, by his "feet and teeth, materially assists his master "against an adversary; deliberate on this, and "tell me which you will encounter, the man or "the horse." "Sir," said the attendant, I am "ready to engage with either, or both, or indeed "to do whatever you command me; I should "rather think it will be more consistent for you, "being a prince and a general, to contend with

"one who is a prince and general also.—If "you should fortunately kill a person of this de- "scription, you will acquire great glory, or if you "should fall by his hand, which heaven avert, the "calamity is somewhat softened by the rank of "the conqueror: it is for us of inferior rank to "oppose men like ourselves. As to the horse, do "not concern yourself about what he has been "taught; I will venture to say, that he shall "never again be troublesome to any one."

CXII. In a short time afterwards, the hostile forces engaged both by sea and land; the Ionians, after a severe contest, obtained a victory over the Phœnicians, in which the bravery of the Samians was remarkably conspicuous. Whilst the armies were engaged by land, the following incident happened to the two generals:—Artybius, mounted on his horse, rushed against Onesilus, who, as he had concerted with his servant, aimed a blow at him as he approached: and whilst the horse reared up his feet against the shield of Onesilus, the Carian cut them off with an axe.—The horse, with his master, fell instantly to the ground.

CXIII. In the midst of the battle, Stesenor, prince of Curium, with a considerable body of forces, went over to the enemy (it is said that the Curians are an Argive colony); their example was

followed by the men of Salamis, in their chariots of war [142]; from which events the Persians obtained a decisive victory. The Cyprians fled. Among the number of the slain was Onesilus, son of Chersis, and the principal instigator of the revolt; the Solian prince Aristocyprus also fell, son of that Philocyprus [143], whom Solon of Athens, when at Cyprus, celebrated in verse among other sovereign princes.

CXIV. In revenge for his besieging them, the Amathusians took the head of Onesilus, and carrying it back in triumph, fixed it over their gates: some time afterwards, when the inside of the head was decayed, a swarm of bees settling

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142 *Chariots of war.*]—Of these chariots, frequent mention is made in Homer: they carried two men, one of whom guided the reins, the other fought.—Various specimens of ancient chariots may be seen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

143 *Philocyprus.*]—Philocyprus was prince of Soli, when Solon arrived at Cyprus; Solis was then called Æpeia, and the approaches to it were steep and difficult, and its neighbourhood unfruitful. Solon advised the prince to rebuild it on the plain which it overlooked, and undertook the labour of furnishing it with inhabitants. In this he succeeded, and Philocyprus, from gratitude, gave his city the name of the Athenian philosopher. Solon mentions this incident in some verses addressed to Philocyprus, preserved in Plutarch.—*Larcher.*

Herodotus makes frequent mention of Solon.—See chapters 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33, of the first book, and chapter 177 of the second book.—His life is written at considerable length by Plutarch.

within it, filled it with honey. The people of Amathus consulted the oracle on the occasion, and were directed to bury the head, and every year to sacrifice to Onesilus as to an hero. Their obedience involved a promise of future prosperity; and even within my remembrance they have performed what was required of them.

CXV. The Ionians, although successful in the naval engagement off Cyprus, as soon as they heard of the defeat and death of Onesilus, and that all the cities of Cyprus were closely blockaded, except Salamis, which the citizens had restored to Gorgus, their former sovereign, returned with all possible expedition to Ionia. Of all the towns in Cyprus, Soli made the longest and most vigorous defence; but of this, by undermining the place, the Persians obtained possession after a five months siege.

CXVI. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their liberties for the space of a year, were a second time reduced to servitude. All the Ionians who had been engaged in the expedition against Sardis, were afterwards vigorously attacked by Daurises, Hymees, Otanes, and other Persian generals, each of whom had married a daughter of Darius: they first drove them to their ships, then took and plundered their towns, which they divided among themselves.

CXVII. Daurises afterwards turned his arms against the cities of the Hellespont, and in as many successive days made himself master of Abydos, Percotes, Lampsacus and Pæson. From this latter place he proceeded to Parion, but learning on his march, that the Carians, taking part with the Ionians, had revolted from Persia, he turned aside from the Hellespont, and led his forces against Caria[144].

CXVIII. The Carians had early information of this motion of Daurises, in consequence of which they assembled at a place called the White Columns, not far from the river Marsyas, which, passing through the district of Hidryas, flows into the Mæander. Various sentiments were on this occasion delivered; but the most sagacious in my estimation was that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus; he was a native of Cindys, and had married the daughter of Syennesis, prince of Cilicia. He advised, that passing the Mæander, they should attack the enemy, with the river in their rear; that thus deprived of all possibility of retreat, they should from compulsion stand their ground, and make the greater exertions of valour. This

144 *Caria.*]—No map of Caria yet published, gives any satisfactory idea of the geography of Hidryas, and the course of the Marsyas. D'Anville's is very imperfect, and his Ionia no less so, at least in many particulars.

advice was not accepted; they chose rather that the Persians should have the Mæander behind them, that if they vanquished the enemy in the field, they might afterwards drive them into the river.

CXIX. The Persians advanced, and passed the Mæander; the Carians met them on the banks of the Marsyas, when a severe and well-fought contest ensued. The Persians had so greatly the advantage in point of number, that they were finally victorious; two thousand Persians, and ten thousand Carians fell in the battle; they who escaped from the field fled to Labranda, and took refuge in a sacred wood of planes, surrounding a temple of Jupiter Stratius [145]. The Carians are

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[145] *Jupiter Stratius—(or Jupiter the Warrior.)*—The Carians were the only people, in the time of Herodotus, who worshipped Jupiter under this title. He was particularly honoured at Labranda, and therefore Strabo calls him the Labrandinian Jupiter. He held a hatchet in his hand, and Plutarch (in his Greek Questions) relates the reason; he was afterwards worshipped in other places under the same appellation. Among the marbles at Oxford, there is a stone which seems to have served for an altar, having an axe, and this inscription; ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΒΡΑΥΝΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ—Of the Labraindian Jupiter, and of the very Great Jupiter. It was found in a Turkish cemetery, between Aphrodisias and Hieropolis, and consequently in Caria, though at a great distance from Labranda.—*Larcher.*

I wish here to refer the reader to Chandler's Ionian Antiquities, as well as to Choiseul's Picturesque Voyage in Asia

the only people, as far as I am able to learn, who sacrifice to this Jupiter. Driven to the above extremity, they deliberated among themselves, whether it would be better to surrender themselves to the Persians, or finally to relinquish Asia.

CXX. In the midst of their consultation, the Milesians with their allies arrived to reinforce them; the Carians resumed their courage, and again prepared for hostilities; they a second time advanced to meet the Persians, and after an engagement more obstinate than the former, sustained a second defeat, in which a prodigious number, chiefly of Milesians, were slain.

CXXI. The Carians soon recruited their forces, and in a subsequent action, somewhat repaired their former losses. Receiving intelligence that the Persians were on their march to attack their towns, they placed themselves in ambuscade, in the road to Pidasus. The Persians by night fell into the snare, and a vast number were slain, with their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisimaces; Myrses, the son of Gyges, was also of the number.

CXXII. The conduct of this ambuscade was

Minor. Both of them viewed the ruins of the temple, and Chandler gives a drawing of it, which is very interesting.

intrusted to Heraclides, son of Ibanolis, a Mylassian.—The event has been related. Hymees, who was engaged among others in the pursuit of the Ionians, after the affair of Sardis *, turning towards the Propontis, took Cios, a Mysian city. Receiving intelligence that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, to march against Caria, he left the Propontis, and proceeded to the Hellespont, where he effectually reduced all the Æolians of the Trojan district; he vanquished also the Gergithæ, a remnant of the ancient Teucri. Hymees himself, after all these successes, died at Troas.

CXXIII. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, the third in command, received orders to lead their forces to Ionia and Æolia, which is contiguous to it; they made themselves masters of Clazomenæ in Ionia, and of Cyma, an Æolian city.

CXXIV. After the capture of these places, Aristagoras of Miletus, though the author of all the confusion in which Ionia had been involved, betrayed a total want of intrepidity; these losses confirmed him in the belief that all attempts to overcome Darius would be ineffectual; he accordingly determined to seek his safety in flight.

* This place is now called Ghio, and also Kemblick; it is situated at the head of the Gulph of Cius.

He assembled his party, and submitted to them whether it would not be advisable to have some place of retreat, in case they should be driven from Miletus. He left it to them to determine, whether they should establish a colony in Sardinia, or whether they should retire to Myrcinus, a city of the Edonians, which had been fortified by Histiæus, to whom Darius had presented it.

CXXV. Hecatæus the historian, who was the son of Hegasander, was not for establishing a colony at either of these places; he affirmed, that if they should be expelled from Miletus, it would be more expedient for them to construct a fort in the island of Leros, and there remain till a favourable opportunity should enable them to return to Miletus.

CXXVI. Aristagoras himself was more inclined to retire to Myrcinus; he confided therefore the administration of Miletus to Pythagoras, a man exceedingly popular, and taking with him all those who thought proper to accompany him, he embarked for Thrace, where he took possession of the district which he had in view. Leaving this place, he proceeded to the attack of some other, where both he and his army fell by the hands of the Thracians, who had previously

entered into terms to resign their city into his power[146].

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146 I cannot dismiss this book of Herodotus without remarking, that it contains a great deal of curious history, and abounds with many admirable examples of private life. The speech of Sosicles of Corinth, in favour of liberty, is excellent in its kind; and the many sagacious, and indeed moral sentiments, which are scattered throughout the book, cannot fail of producing both entertainment and instruction. —*T.*

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VI.

ERATO.

CHAP. I.

UCH was the fate of Aristagoras, the instigator of the Ionian revolt.—Histiæus of Miletus, as soon as Darius had acquiesced in his departure from Susa, proceeded to Sardis. On his arrival, Artaphernes the governor asked him what he thought could possibly have induced the Ionians to revolt? He expressed himself ignorant of the cause, and astonished at the event. Artaphernes, however, who had been informed of his preceding artifice, and was sensible of his present dissimulation, observed to him, that the matter might be thus explained: "You," says he, "made the shoe[1] which Aristagoras has "worn."

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1 *Made the shoe.*]—I have given a literal translation from the Greek; but M. Larcher, thinking perhaps the expression somewhat inclining to vulgarity, has rendered it thus, "You,

II. Histiæus, perceiving himself suspected, fled the very first night towards the sea; and instead of fulfilling his engagements with Darius, to whose power he had promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, assumed the command of the Ionian forces against him. Passing over into Chios, he was seized and thrown into chains by the inhabitants, who accused him of coming from the king with some design against their state. When they had heard the truth, and were convinced that he was really an enemy to Darius, they released him.

III. Histiæus was afterwards interrogated by

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contrived the plot which he has executed." Not very unlike this phrase used by the Persian to Aristagoras, is our English one, of standing in another person's shoes; which perhaps may be traced to times more remote than may at first be imagined. Aristophanes in his Equites has this expression:

Ουκ, αλλ' ὁπερ πινων ανηρ πεπονθ' ὁταν χεσειῃ
Τοισι τροποις τοις σοισιν ὡσπερ βλαυτιοισι χρωμαι.

When the Greeks reclined upon their couches at meals and entertainments, they pulled off their sandals; if any one on any occasion wanted to leave the apartment, he put them on again. Therefore, says the poet, I do that with respect to your manners, as a man does at an entertainment, who, wanting to go out of the room, uses another person's sandals. It would by no means be an uninteresting work to trace the meaning of our proverbial expressions to their remotest application; for my own part I am well convinced, that more of them might be discovered in the customs and languages of Greece and Rome, than an English antiquary would at first perhaps be willing to allow.—*T.*

the Ionians, why he had so precipitately impelled Aristagoras to revolt, a circumstance which had occasioned the loss of so many of their countrymen. His answer was insidious, and calculated to impress the Ionians with alarm; he told them what really was not the fact, that his conduct had been prompted by the avowed intentions of Darius to remove the Phœnicians[2] to Ionia, and the Ionians to Phœnicia.

IV. His next measure was to send letters to certain Persians at Sardis, with whom he had previously communicated on the subject of a revolt; these he intrusted to Hermippus, a native of Atarnis, who abused the confidence reposed in him, by delivering the letters into the hands of Artaphernes. The governor, after acquainting himself with their contents, desired Hermippus to deliver them according to their first directions, and then to give to him the answers intended for

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[2] *To remove the Phœnicians, &c.*]—It was the easier to make the Ionians credit this assertion, because such kind of transmigrations were frequent among the Assyrians and Persians. It is well known that the Jews were removed to Babylon and Media, and Hyrcanians were to be found in Asia Minor: it would indeed be endless to enumerate all the transmigrations which were made by the command of those people.—*Larcher.*

We have already seen a great part of the Pæonians of Thrace removed into Asia by order of Darius. See book v. ch. 15.—*T.*

Histiæus. In consequence of the intelligence which he by these means obtained, Artaphernes put a great number of Persians to death.

V. A tumult was thus excited at Sardis; but Histiæus failing in this project, prevailed on the Chians to carry him back to Miletus. The Milesians, delighted with the removal of Aristagoras, had already tasted the sweets of liberty, and were little inclined to give admission to a second master. Histiæus, attempting to effect a landing at Miletus in the night, was by some unknown hand wounded in the thigh: rejected by his country, he again set sail for Chios, whence, as the inhabitants refused to intrust him with their fleet, he passed over to Mitylene. Having obtained from the Lesbians the command of eight triremes properly equipped, he proceeded to Byzantium. Here he took his station, and intercepted all the vessels coming from the Euxine, except those which consented to obey him.

VI. Whilst Histiæus, with the aid of the people of Mitylene, was acting thus, Miletus itself was threatened with a most formidable attack both by sea and land. The Persian generals had collected all their forces into one body, and making but little account of the other cities, advanced towards Miletus. Of those who assisted them by sea, the Phœnicians were the most alert,

The Cyprians, who had been recently subdued, served with these, as well as the Cilicians and Ægyptians.

VII. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus, but the rest of Ionia, they sent delegates to the Panionium[3]. The result of their deliberations was, that they should by no means meet the Persians by land; that the people of Miletus should vigorously defend their city; and that the allies should provide and equip every vessel in their power; that as soon as their fleet should be in readiness, they should meet at Lade[4], and risk

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3 *Panionium.*]—See chap. 148 of book the first.—In my note upon this word, I omitted to mention, that the Panionium probably suggested to Milton the idea of his Pandemonium:—

> Meanwhile the winged heralds by command
> Of sov'reign power, with awful ceremony
> And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
> A solemn council forthwith to be held
> At PANDEMONIUM, the high capital
> Of Satan and his peers. *T.*

4 *Lade.*]—Pausanias informs us that this island was divided into two, one of which parts was called Asterius, from Asterius the son of Anactes.—See book i. chap. 25.—*T.*

At the present period, by the alluvions of the Mæander, it is not only joined to the main land, but is a full mile within the margin of the sea. So that the Latmicus Sinus is become an inland lake, seven or eight miles distant from the sea.—*T.*

a battle in favour of Miletus. Lade is a small island immediately opposite to Miletus.

VIII. The Ionians completed their fleet, and assembled at the place appointed; they were reinforced by the collective power of the Æolians of Lesbos, and prepared for an engagement in the following order. The Milesians furnished eighty vessels, which occupied the east wing; next to these were the Prienians, with twelve, and the Myusians with three ships; contiguous were the Chians in one hundred vessels, and the Teians in seventeen: beyond these were the Erythreans and Phocæans, the former with eight, the latter with three ships. The Lesbians in seventy ships were next to the Phocæans; in the extremity of the line, to the west, the Samians were posted in sixty ships: the whole fleet was composed of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

IX. The Barbarians were possessed of six hundred vessels: as soon as they came before Miletus, and their land forces also were arrived, the Persian commanders were greatly alarmed by the intelligence they received of their adversaries force; they began to apprehend that their inferiority by sea, might at the same time prevent their capture of Miletus, and expose them to the resentment of Darius. With these sentiments, they called together those Ionian princes who,

being deposed by Aristagoras, had taken refuge among the Medes, and were present on this expedition.—They addressed them to this effect: "Men of Ionia, let each of you now show his "zeal in the royal cause, by endeavouring to "detach from this confederacy his own country-"men: allure them by the promise that no punish-"ment shall be the consequence of their revolt; "that neither their temples nor other edifices "shall be burned; that their treatment shall not "in any respect be more severe than before. If "they persevere in trusting to the event of a "battle, tell them that the contrary of all these "will assuredly happen;—themselves shall be "hurried into servitude, their youths castrated[5],

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[5] *Youths castrated.*]—We learn that castration was in a very early period of society inflicted as a punishment for various crimes. Diodorus Siculus, book i. chap. 78, speaking of the Ægyptians, has this passage:

"The laws with respect to women were remarkably severe; if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he had his private parts cut off: they were of opinion, that this one crime included three others of a heinous nature—injustice, defilement (και των τεκνων συγχυσιν) and confusion with respect to children."

Castration in many countries was the punishment of adultery; and by an edict of Justinian it was inflicted also on sodomites. Hume, in his History of England, gives the following extraordinary act of cruelty from Fitzstephen, which was perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry the Second:

"When

" their daughters carried to Bactra[6], and their " country given to others."

X. Under cover of the night the Ionian princes were dispatched with the above resolutions to their respective countrymen. The Ionians, who were thus addressed, refused to betray the common cause, believing these propositions made to themselves alone.—Such were the incidents which happened on the arrival of the Persians before Miletus.

XI. The Ionians assembled at Lade, as had

" When he was master of Normandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop: upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter."

Mr. Gibbon, relating this anecdote, subjoins, with his usual sarcastic sneer, " Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure."—*T.*

6 *Bactra.*]—This place, though mentioned by Strabo and other ancient writers, as of great importance, and the capital of a province remarkable for its fertility, is now either entirely unknown, or a very insignificant place. Some are of opinion that its modern name is Termend; d'Anville thinks it is the city Balck, and Major Rennell is entirely of this opinion.—Bactra is thus mentioned by Virgil:

> Sed neque Medorum sylvæ, ditissima terra,
> Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus,
> Laudibus Italiæ certent; non Bactra, neque Indi,
> Totaque thuriferis Panchaïa pinguis arena. *T.*

been appointed, and among the various opinions which were delivered in council, Dionysius the Phocæan leader expressed himself as follows.— "Our affairs are come to that delicate point[7], "O Ionians, that we must either be free men or "slaves, and even fugitive slaves. If you will- "ingly submit to the trouble, your situation will

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[7] *Delicate point.*]—Literally, "are upon the point of a razor." This passage is quoted by Longinus, sect. 22, as a happy example of the hyperbaton, which he explains to be a transposition of words or sentiments out of the natural order of discourse, and implying extreme violence of passion.

The word *hyperbaton* is derived from ὑπερ beyond, and βαινω to go: and Pearce, in his notes upon Longinus, gives two examples of the use of this figure from Virgil:

Moriamur—et in media arma ruamus. *Æn.* ii. 348.

Me, me: adsum qui feci; in me convertite ferrum. *Æn.* ix. 427.

Livy also has an expression similar to this of Herodotus: "Jam enim sub ictu teli erant et undique instabant hostes."

Erasmus, in his Adagia, gives us three examples of this proverbial expression, from Homer, Sophocles, and Theocritus. That of Homer is in the tenth book of the Iliad, Nestor says:

Νυν γαρ δε παντεσσιν επι ζυρω ἱσταται ακμης
Η μαλα λυγρος ολεθρος Αχαιοις ἠε βιωναι.

Which Pope has rendered thus, diffusely indeed, but with peculiar force and beauty, except in the second line, which is rather flat:

But now the last despair surrounds our host,
No hour must pass, no moment must be lost;
Each single Greek in this conclusive strife
Stands on *the sharpest edge* of death or life. *T.*

" at first be painful, but having vanquished your " enemies, you will then enjoy your liberties; if " you suffer your vigour to relax, or disorder to " take place among you, I see no means of your " evading the indignation with which the Persian " king will punish your revolt. Submit yourself " to my direction, and I will engage, if the gods " be but impartial, that either the enemy shall " not attack you at all, or, if they do, it shall be " greatly to their own detriment."

XII. In consequence of this speech, the Ionians resigned themselves to the will of Dionysius. Every day, he drew out the whole fleet in order of battle, leaving a proper interval for the use of the oars; he then taught them to manœuvre[8] their ships, keeping the men at their arms: the rest of the day the ships lay at their anchors[9].

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[8] *To manœuvre.*—Διεκπλοον ποιευμενος.]—This passage Larcher renders thus: "He made them pass betwixt the ranks, and quickly retreat." Ernesti understands the expression differently; it is certainly a nautical term; I have therefore preferred the interpretation which I think the words will admit, and which will certainly be more intelligible and satisfactory to the English reader.—*T.*

[9] *At their anchors.*]—The Greeks used to draw up their vessels along shore whilst they themselves were on land. When the sentinels perceived the enemy's fleet, they made signals, and their troops immediately came on board. The Ionians, whom their leader would not suffer to come on shore, found the service very laborious; and as they were

Without being suffered to receive any relaxation from this discipline, the Ionians till the seventh day punctually obeyed his commands; on the eighth, unused to such fatigue, impatient of its continuance, and oppressed by the heat, they began to murmur:—"We must surely," they exclaimed one to another, "have offended some deity, "to be exposed to these hardships; or we must "be both absurd and pusillanimous, to suffer this "insolent Phocæan, master of but three vessels, "to treat us as he pleases. Having us in his

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not accustomed to military discipline, it is not surprising that they considered this as a species of servitude, which they were impatient to break.—*Larcher.*

The first anchors were probably nothing more than large stones, and we know that they sometimes used for this purpose bags of sand, which might answer well enough for vessels of small burden in a light and sandy bottom. Travellers to the East make mention of wooden anchors; and there belonged to the large ship made for king Hiero eight anchors of iron and four of wood. The Phœnicians used lead for some part of their anchors; for in a voyage which they made to Sicily, Diodorus Siculus says, they found silver in such great abundance, that they took the lead out of their anchors, and put silver in its place.

More anciently, the anchor had only one fluke or arm; the addition of a second has been ascribed to Anacharsis the Scythian.

Our vessels carry their anchors at the prow: but it should seem, from Acts xxvii. ver. 29, that the ancients carried theirs at the stern.

"Then fearing lest they should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day."—*T.*

"power, he has afflicted us with various evils. "Many of us are already weakened by sickness, "and more of us likely to become so. Better "were it for us to endure any calamities than "these, and submit to servitude, if it must be "so, than bear our present oppressions. Let us "obey him no longer." The discontent spread, and all subordination ceased; they disembarked, fixed their tents in Lade, and keeping themselves under the shade[10], would neither go on board, nor repeat their military exercises.

XIII. The Samian leaders, observing what

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10 *Under the shade.*]—This expression may seem to border a little on the ridiculous, till it is remembered that in all oriental climates both travellers and natives place their greatest delight in sleeping and taking their repasts under shade.

From this circumstance the author of Observations on Passages of Scripture, has taken occasion to explain an expression in Homer, which has greatly perplexed the commentators. It is in the soliloquy of Hector, who deliberating whether he shall meet his adversary unarmed, says among other things:

Ου μεν πως νυν εστιν απο δρυος ουδ' απο πετρης
Τῳ οαριζεμεναι. *Il.* xxii. 126.

Pope omits the word πετρης altogether, and renders it thus:

We greet not here, as man conversing man
Met at an oak, or journeying o'er a plain.

That is, if the above interpretation be admissible, "We do not meet here like men, who to take their repast, or shun the heat, accidentally and peaceably meet under the shade of an oak." To many this may appear far-fetched and forced; but the explanation of Eustathius is perhaps not less so.—*T.*

passed among the Ionians, were more inclined to listen to the solicitations of the Persians to withdraw from the confederacy: these solicitations were communicated to them by Æaces, the son of Syloson; and the increasing disorder which so obviously prevailed among the Ionians, added to their weight. They moreover reflected that there was little probability of finally defeating the power of the Persian monarch, sensible that if the present naval armament of Darius were dispersed, a second, five times as formidable, would soon be at hand. Availing themselves therefore of the first refusal of the Ionians to perform their customary duty, they thought this no improper opportunity of securing their private and sacred buildings. Æaces, to whose remonstrance the Samians listened, was son of Syloson, and grandson of Æaces: he had formerly enjoyed the supreme authority of Samos, but with the other Ionian princes had been driven from his station by Aristagoras.

XIV. Not long afterward the Phœnicians advanced, and were met by the Ionians, with their fleet drawn up with a contracted front. A battle ensued, but who among the Ionians on this occasion disgraced themselves by their cowardice, or signalized themselves by their valour, I am unable to ascertain; for they reciprocally reproach each other. It is said that the Samians, as they had previously concerted with Æaces, left their place

in the line, and set sail for Samos. We must except eleven vessels, whose officers, refusing to obey their superiors in command, remained and fought. To commemorate this act of valour, the general council of the Samians ordained that the names of these men, and of their ancestors, should be inscribed on a public column[11], which is still to be seen in their forum. The Lesbians, seeing what was done by the Samians, next to whom they were stationed, followed their example, as did also the greater number of the Ionians.

XV. Of those who remained, the Chians suffered the most, as well from the efforts which they made, as from their wish not to act dishonourably. They had strengthened the confederacy, as I have before observed, by a fleet of an hundred vessels, each manned with four

[11] *Public column.*]—Various were the uses for which pillars or columns were erected in the earlier ages of antiquity. In the second book of Herodotus, we read that Sesostris erected pillars as military trophies in the countries which he conquered. In the book of Pausanias de Eliacis we find them inscribed with the particulars of the public treaties and alliances. There were some placed round the temple of Æsculapius at Corinth, upon which the names of various diseases were written, with their several remedies. They were also frequently used as monuments for the dead.—Bonaparte has adopted the plan here mentioned at the Hotel des Invalides at Paris, where the names of those soldiers who have distinguished themselves in battle are inscribed in characters of gold.—*T.*

hundred chosen warriors. They observed the treachery of many of the allies, but disdained to imitate their example. With the few of their friends which remained, they repeatedly broke the enemy's line; till, after taking a great number of vessels, and losing many of their own, they retired to their own island.

XVI. Their disabled ships being pursued, they retreated to Mycale. The crews here ran their vessels on shore, and leaving them, marched on foot over the continent. Entering the Ephesian territories, they approached the city in the evening, when the women were celebrating the mysteries of Ceres[12]. The Ephesians had heard

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[12] *Mysteries of Ceres.*]—Cicero says, Aditus ad sacrarium non est viris; sacra per mulieres et virgines confici solent. See also Ovid:

Festa piæ Cereris celebrabant annua matres.

The women were carried to Eleusis in covered waggons, which were dragged along very slowly, by way of imitating the carrying of corn in harvest. Some writers have confounded the Eleusinian mysteries with the Thesmophoria, but they were very different. The middle days of the Thesmophoria were observed with peculiar solemnity. They sate all day upon the ground near a statue of Ceres, keeping fast, and lamenting.—The fast continued for four days, in which the women did not admit the company of their husbands. The whole sacred ceremonies lasted eight days.

nothing concerning them, and seeing a number of armed men in their territories, they suspected them to be robbers, who had violent designs upon their women. They assembled therefore to repel the supposed invaders, and killed them all on the spot. Such was the end of these Chians.

XVII. Dionysius the Phocæan, perceiving the Ionian power effectually broken, retreated, after taking three of the enemy's ships. He did not however go to Phocæa, which he well knew must share the common fate of Ionia, but he directed his course immediately to Phœnicia. He here made himself master of many vessels richly laden, and a considerable quantity of silver, with which he sailed to Sicily: here he exercised a piratical

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The same jealousy which prevailed in Greece with respect to the intrusion of men at the celebration of the Thesmophoria, was afterwards maintained at Rome in the rites of the Bona Dea. Witness the abhorrence in which the criminality of Clodius in this instance was held by the more respectable part of his countrymen, and the very strong language applied to him by Cicero. This peculiarity is introduced with much humour and effect by Lucian, where speaking of two men, one remarkable for his attachment to boys, and the other to women; "the house of the one," says he, "was crowded with beardless youths; of the other, with dancing and singing women;" indeed (ὡς εν Θεσμοφορίοις) as in the Thesmophoria there was not a male to be seen, except perhaps an infant, or an old cook too far advanced in years to excite jealousy.—See the edition of Hemsterhusius, vol. ii. 407.—*T.*

life, committing many depredations on the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not molesting the Greeks.

XVIII. The Persians, having thus routed the Ionians, laid close siege to Miletus, both by sea and land. They not only undermined the walls, but applied every species of military machines against it. In the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras, they took and plundered the place. By this calamity, the former prediction of the oracle was finally accomplished.

XIX. The Argives, having consulted the oracle of Delphi relative to the future fate of their city, received an answer which referred to themselves in part, but which also involved the fortune of the Milesians. Of what concerned the Argives, I shall make mention when I come to speak of that people; what related to the absent Milesians was conceived in these terms:—

> Thou then, Miletus, vers'd in ill too long,
> Shalt be the prey and plunder of the strong;
> Your wives shall stoop to wash a long-hair'd [13] train,
> And others guard our Didymæan fane.

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[13] *Long-hair'd.*]—From hence we may infer that it was not peculiar to the Greeks to use female attendants for the

Thus, as we have described, was the prediction accomplished. The greater part of the Milesians were slain by the Persians, who wear their hair long; their wives and children were carried into slavery; the temple at Didymus[14], and the shrine

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offices of the bath. The passages in Homer which describe the particulars of a custom so contradictory to modern delicacy and refinement, are too numerous to be specified, and indeed too familiar to be repeated here. I find the following passage in Athenæus, which being less notorious, I insert for the gratification of the English reader.

"Homer also makes virgins and women wash strangers, which they did without exciting desire, or being exposed to intemperate passion, being well regulated themselves, and touching those who were virtuous also: such was the custom of antiquity, according to which the daughters of Cocalus washed Minos, who had passed over into Sicily."—See *Athenæus*, i. 8.—*T.*

[14] *Didymus.*]—This place was in the territories of Miletus, and celebrated for the temple of the Didymean Apollo. Why Apollo was so named, is thus explained by Macrobius:

"Απολλωνα Διδυμαιον vocant, quod geminam speciem sui numinis præfert ipse illuminando, formandoque lunam. Etenim ex uno fonte lucis gemino sidere spatia diei et noctis illustrat, unde et Romani solem sub nomine et specie Jani, Didymæi Apollinis appellatione venerantur."

This temple was more anciently denominated the temple of Branchidæ, the oracle of which I have before described.

As this title was given Apollo from the circumstance of the sun and moon enlightening the world alternately by day and night, it may not be improper to insert in this place an ænigma on the day and night:

Εισι κασιγνηται δυτται ὃν ἡ μια τικτει
Την ετεραν· αυτη δε τεκουσα πυλιν γ' υπο ταυτης
Τικνεται.

These

near the oracle was destroyed by fire. Of the riches of this temple I have elsewhere and frequently spoken.

XX. The Milesians who survived the slaughter were carried to Susa. Darius treated them with great humanity, and no farther punished them than by removing them to Ampe[15], a city near that part of the Erythrean sea where it receives the waters of the Tigris. The low country surrounding the town of Miletus, the Persians reserved for themselves; but they gave the mountainous parts to the Carians of Pedasus[16].

XXI. The Milesians, on suffering these calamities from the Persians, did not meet with that return from the people of Sybaris, who had been driven from Laon and Scidron, which they might justly have expected. When Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniati, the Milesians had shaved their

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These lines are preserved in Athenæus, from a tragedy of Œdipus, their literal interpretation is this:

"There are two sisters, one of which produces the other, and that which produces is in its turn produced by the other. —*T.*

15 *Ampe.*]—See what Bryant says on the terms Ampelus or Ampe, vol. i. 275-6.—*T.*

16 *Pedasus.*]—This was also the name of one of the horses of Achilles.—See *Homer*, *Il.* xvi.—*T.*

heads[17], and discovered every testimony of sorrow; for betwixt these two cities a most strict and uncommon hospitality[18] prevailed. The Athe-

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17 *Shaved their heads.*]—Consult Deuteronomy, chap. xxi. ver. 12, 13, from whence it seems that to shave the head was one instance of exhibiting sorrow among the ancient Jews. —*T.*

18 *Hospitality.*]—As there is nothing in the manners of modern times which at all resembles the ancient customs respecting *hospitality*, it may be pleasing to many readers to find the most remarkable particulars of them collected in this place.

The barbarous disposition, to consider all strangers as enemies, gave way to the very first efforts towards civilization; and, as early as the time of Homer, provision was made for the reception of travellers into those families with which they were connected by the ties of hospitality. This connection was esteemed sacred, and was under the particular sanction of the hospitable Jupiter, *Zeus Xenius*. The same word *Xenos* which had originally denoted a barbarian and an enemy (*Herodotus*, ix. ch. 11.) then became the term to express either an host, or his guest. When persons were united by the tie of hospitality, each was *Xenos* to the other, though, when they were together, he who received the other was properly distinguished as the *Xenodocus* (Ξεινοδόκος). In the Alcestis of Euripides, l. 546, and in Plato, we find mention of a *Xenon* (Ξενων), or an apartment appropriated to the reception of such visitors. The bond of hospitality might subsist, 1, between private individuals; 2, between private persons and states; 3, between different states. Private hospitality was called *Xenia*; public, *Proxenia*. Persons who, like Glaucus and Diomede, ratified their hospitality in war, were called *Doryxeni* (Δορυξενοι). See *Hom. Il.* vi. 215, &c.—This connection was in all cases hereditary, and was confirmed by gifts mutually interchanged, which at first were

nians acted very differently. The destruction of Miletus affected them with the liveliest uneasiness,

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called symbols (Eurip. Medea, 613); afterwards, when reduced to a kind of tickets, instead of presents, *ασπραγαλοι* or tesseræ. *Plaut. Pœn.* act. v. sc. 2.—Every thing gave way to this connection: Admetus could not bear the thought of turning away his *Xenos*, Hercules, even when his wife was just dead; and is highly praised for it. *Eurip. Alcest.*—Hospitality might however be renounced by a solemn form of abjuration, and yet after that might be renewed by a descendant. Thus, between the city of Sparta and the family of Alcibiades, a public hospitality had subsisted; his grandfather had solemnly renounced it, but he by acts of kindness revived it again. See *Thucyd.* v. 43; vi. 89.—This circumstance of renunciation has not been noticed, so far as I have seen, by any modern writers. See *Feithius, Antiq. Homericæ*, iii. 13. *Potter*, iv. 21.—Some of the ancient *tesseræ* have been dug up at Rome and elsewhere. See *Thomasinus de Tesseris Hospitalitatis.*—The rights of suppliants were similar to, and nearly connected with, those of hospitality.

So Homer,

> Ου μοι θεμις εστ', ουδ' ει κακιων σεθεν ελθοι,
> Ξεινον ατιμησαι· προς γαρ Διος εισιν απαντες
> Ξεινοι τε πτωχοι τε.
>
> *Odyss.* xiv. 56.

> The swain reply'd, it never was our guise
> To slight the poor, or aught humane despise;
> For Jove unfolds our hospitable door,
> 'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor. *Pope.*
> —*T.*

See also Russel's History of Aleppo; from which I copy the following passage:—

"Hospitality has always been enumerated among the Eastern virtues. It still subsists in Syria, but prevails most

which was apparent from various circumstances, and from the following in particular:—On seeing the capture of * Miletus represented in a dramatic piece by Phrynichus[19], the whole audience burst

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in villages and small towns among the Bedouin Arabs, and the inhabitants of the Castrovan mountains. In the cities where places are provided for the accommodation of travellers, claims on hospitality are less frequent; but many of the Turkish strangers are entertained at private houses, to which they have recommendation; and these accidental connections often give rise to friendships which descend in succession to the children of the respective families."

* The Sybarites, says Timæus, in Athenæus, had their vests made of the wool of Miletus, and this was the cause of the friendship which prevailed between these two places.

The wool of Miletus is frequently celebrated.—See Horace.—

> Alter Mileti textum cane pejus et angui
> Vitabit chlamydem.

Virgil.—Cum circum Milesia vellere nymphæ
Carpebant hyali saturo fucata colore.

Ovid.—Huc quoque Mileto missi venere coloni,
Inque Getas Graias constituêre domum.

[19] *Phrynichus.*]—There were three dramatic authors of this name, not far distant from each other in time. The first, a tragic poet, the son of Polyphradmon; the second, a writer of comedy; the third, a tragic poet, the son of Melanthus. Suidas, who mentions all these particulars, yet ascribes the tragedy of the taking of Miletus neither to the first nor to the third. But in all probability it was the first and not the third, whom Herodotus, and the numerous historians who copy him, mean to point out. The time in which he flourished (for Suidas informs us that he gained his

into tears. The poet, for thus reminding them of a domestic calamity, was fined a thousand drachmæ*, and the piece was forbidden to be repeated.

XXII. Thus was Miletus stripped of its ancient † inhabitants. The Samians, to whom any part of their property remained, were far from satisfied with the conduct of their leaders in the contest with the Medes. After the event of the above naval fight, and previous to the return of Æaces, they determined to migrate, and found a colony, not choosing to expose themselves to the complicated tyranny of the Medes and of Æaces.

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first victory in the sixty-seventh Olympiad) makes this supposition the nearer to truth. Among the different plays attributed to our author, is one called either Πλειάδων, or Πλευρωνίαι or Πλευρώνιαι. Fabricius and D'Orville are in great perplexity upon this weighty point, which might easily have been decided, if they had seen (as they ought to have seen) that instead of ἐν δραματι ἔδειξε Πλευρῶνι. Ἐς κρυερὸν, &c. it ought to be read, Πλευρωνίαις· Κρυερὸν, &c. which emendation every reader who consults the passage will find to be necessary both for the sense and syntax.—*T.*

* Strabo relates the same fact from Callisthenes.

† Among other famous men for which the "Proud Miletus" was remarkable, were Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, great mathematicians and astronomers. Anaxagoras—Hecatæus, the father of history—Cadmus, Dionysius, Aspasius, and Timotheus.—Hippodamus, the architect, was also of Miletus. Its remains, with those of the temple, are described by Wood, Chandler, Tournefort, Savary, and Dallaway.

About this period the Zancleans of Sicily sent a deputation to invite the Ionians to Calacte[20], wishing to found there an Ionian city. This coast belongs to the Sicilians, but is in that part of Sicily which inclines towards Tyrrhenia. The Samians were the only Ionians who accepted the invitation, accompanied by those Milesians who had escaped.

XXIII. When they were on their way to Sicily, and had arrived off the Epizephyrian Locri[21], the Zancleans[22], under the conduct of

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20 *Calacte.*]—Καλη ακτη, the beautiful coast.—See *D'Orville's Sicula*, xxii. 3.

"Postero die *amœnissimum littus*, et nullis scopulis impeditum è tam propinquo legimus, ut lapidis jactu id attingere possemus. Hinc ora hæc à Græcis fuit Καλη ακτη dicta, et in his partibus urbs excitata fuit ab Ducetis Siculorum duce, et ab pulchro hoc litore Καλακτη coalito vocabulo nominata."

The learned author proceeds to prove, which he does incontestably, that they who would read Calata, are certainly mistaken; nam oppida quibus Calata nomen Saracenæ et proinde recentioris originis, &c. Silius Italicus calls this place Piscosa Calacte, which term is applied by Homer to the Hellespont, Ιχθυοεντα.—*T.*

21 *Epizephyrian Locri.*]—The Epizephyrian Locri were a colony from the Locri of Proper Greece, who, migrating to Magna Græcia, took their distinctive name from the Zephyrian promontory, near which they settled. In Proper Greece there were the Locri Ozolæ, situated betwixt the Æolians and Phocæans, and so called, as Hoffman says, à gravitate

22 This note will be found in the next page.

Scythes their king, laid close siege to a Sicilian city. Intelligence of this was communicated to

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odoris; the Locri Epi-Cnemidii, who resided in the vicinity of mount Cnemis; and the Locri Opuntii, who took their name from the city Opus.

In Plutarch's Greek Questions, I find this account of the Locri Ozolæ:

"Some affirm that these Locrians were called the Locri Ozolæ, from Nessus; others say they were so named from the serpent Python, which being cast on shore by the foam of the sea there putrefied. Others assert, that these Locri wore for garments the skins of he-goats, and lived constantly among the herds of goats, and from this became strong scented; whilst there are others who report of this country, that it brought forth many flowers, and that the people were called Ozolæ, from the grateful perfume which they diffused. Architas is one of those who asserts this last opinion. Athenæus in his first book, chap. xix. reckons the Epizephyrians amongst those who had a particular kind of dance appropriate to their nation.

"There were certain nations," says he, "who had dances peculiar to themselves, as the Lacedæmonians, the Trezerians, the *Epizephyrians*, the Cretans, the Ionians, and the Mantineans. Aristoxenus preferred the dances of the Mantineans to all the rest, on account of the quickness with which they moved their hands."

[22] *Zancleans.*]—Of all the cities of Sicily, this was the most ancient; it was afterwards named Messana, and now Messina.—See what Peter Burman says on this city, in his Commentaries on the "Urbium Siculæ numismata."—*D'Orville*, 290. The reader may there find a very ancient coin, in which Zancle is represented by a dolphin in a semicircular position.

Consult also Bentley's Dissertation upon Phalaris, page 107.

The Greeks called it Zancle, or the Sickle, from the sup-

Anaxilaus[23], prince of Rhegium[24]; he, being hostile to the Zancleans, went to the Samians,

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position that the sickle of Saturn fell here, and occasioned its semicircular form. The Latins called it Messana or Messina, from Messis, a harvest. Modern travellers describe the approach to this place from the sea as remarkably beautiful, and the harbour, which the promontory forms in the shape of a reaping-hook, as one of the finest in the world. Near the entrance of this harbour is the famous gulph of Charybdis, described by so many ancient writers; compare Homer, Odyss. xii. with Virgil, Æn. iii.—*T.*

[23] *Anaxilaus.*]—This personage constituted one of the subjects of controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, who disputed whether the Anaxilaus mentioned by Pausanias is the Anaxilaus of Herodotus and Thucydides. Bentley, I think, proves beyond the possibility of dispute, that the three writers above mentioned spoke of the same person, and that the only difference was with respect to the time in which he was supposed to live.—*T.*

[24] *Rhegium,*]—now called Reggio. Its particular situation is thus described by Ovid:

> Oppositumque potens contra Zancleïa saxa
> Ingreditur Rhegium.

Its name was taken *απο τυ ρηγῦναι*, because in this place, by some convulsive operation of nature, Sicily was anciently supposed to have been torn from Italy. This incident is mentioned by almost all the Latin poets and philosophers. The best description in verse of this phænomenon, is that of Virgil:

> Hæc loca, vi quondam vastâ convulsa ruina
> (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
> Dissiluisse ferunt, &c. *Æn.* iii. 414.

Pliny, Strabo, and others affirm, that the strata in the corresponding and opposite sides of the strait are minutely

persuading them that it would be better for them to turn aside from Calacte, whither they were bound, and possess themselves of Zancle, now deserted by its inhabitants. The Samians followed his advice; upon which, anxious to recover their city, the Zancleans called to their assistance Hippocrates their ally, prince of Gela[25]. He came with an army as desired, but he put

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similar. The same thing, it is almost unnecessary to add, is reported of England and France, and the opposite rocks of Dover and Boulogne. The curious reader will find some interesting particulars relating to Rhegium in D'Orville's Sicula, page 560, where is also engraved an ancient marble found at Rhegium. We learn from Strabo, that the deities principally worshipped here, were Apollo and Diana, and that the inhabitants were eminent for works in marble.—*T.*

[25] *Gela.*]—I inform the reader once for all, that my intelligence concerning the Sicilian cities is derived principally from the interesting work of D'Orville.

Gela was anciently a considerable city, and situated near the river of the same name; of the qualities of which, Ovid thus speaks:

Præterit et Cyanen et fontem lenis Anapi,
Et te vorticibus non adeunde Gela.

Virgil calls it immanis:

Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.

It was built by the inhabitants of Rhodes and Crete in conjunction; but whether the epithet *immanis* is applied by Virgil as descriptive of its greatness, may fairly be disputed: D'Orville considers it as synonymous with *crudelis, effera,* &c. or else, as he afterwards adds, from its situation ad amnem vorticosum et immanem. The symbol of this city on the Sicilian coins was a minotaur. Its modern name is Terra Nova.—*T.*

in irons Scythes the Zanclean prince, already deprived of his city, together with his brother Pythogenis, and sent them to Inycus[26]. The rest of the Zancleans he betrayed to the Samians, upon terms agreed upon between them at a previous interview. These terms were, that Hippocrates should have half of the booty, and the slaves found in the place, with every thing which was without the city. He put in chains the greater part of the Zancleans, and treated them as slaves, selecting three hundred of the more distinguished, to be put to death by the Samians, who nevertheless spared their lives.

XXIV. Scythes, the Zanclean prince, escaped from Inycus to Himera[27], from thence he crossed over to Asia, and presented himself before Darius. Of all who had yet come to him from

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[26] *Inycus.*]—I find no mention of Inycus in D'Orville: but Hesychius has the expression Ινυκινος οινος: who adds that Inycus was anciently famous for its wine.—*T.*

[27] *Himera.*]—Himera was a Grecian city, built, according to Strabo, by the Zancleans. It was anciently famous for its baths. It flourished for a long time, till it was taken and plundered by the Carthaginians. There are two rivers of this name; which has occasioned some perplexity to the geographers in ascertaining the precise situation of the city here mentioned. Its modern name is Termini. I should not omit mentioning that it was the birth-place of the lyric poet Stesichorus.—*T.*

Greece, Darius thought this man the most just; for having obtained the king's permission to go to Sicily, he again returned to the Persian court, where he happily passed the remainder of a very long life*.

XXV. The Samians, delivered from the power of the Medes, thus possessed themselves, without any trouble, of the beautiful city of Zancle. After the sea-fight, of which Miletus was the object, the Phœnicians were ordered by the Persians to replace Æaces in Samos, as a mark of their regard, and as a reward of his services. Of this city alone, of all those which had revolted from the Persians, the temples and public buildings were not burned, as a compensation for its desertion of the allies. After the capture of Miletus, the Persians made themselves masters of Caria, some of its cities being taken by force, whilst others surrendered.

XXVI. Histiæus the Milesian, from his station at Byzantium, was intercepting the Ionian vessels of burden in their way from the Euxine, when word was brought him of the fate of Miletus; he immediately confided to Bisaltes, son

* Darius was doubtless aware, says Larcher, that he had no other alternative. He made a virtue of necessity. But with submission to Larcher, this is not certain, and the opinion contradicts Herodotus.

of Apolophanes of Abydos, the affairs of the Hellespont, and departed with some Lesbians for Chios. The detachment to whom the defence of Chios was assigned, refused to admit him; in consequence of which he gave them battle, at a place in the territories of Chios, called Cœlœ*, and killed a great number. The residue of the Chians, not yet recovered from the shock they had sustained in the former naval combat, he easily subdued, advancing for this purpose with his Lesbians from Polichna[28], of which he had obtained possession.

XXVII. It generally happens that when a calamity is impending over any city or nation, it is preceded by some prodigies[29]. Before this

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* Εν Κοιλοισι.

[28] *Polichna.*]—The Latin versions render the Greek word πολιχνης, a small town; but Wesseling and Larcher are both of opinion, that it is the proper name of a town in the island of Chios.

[29] *Prodigies.*]—On the subject of prodigies, see Virgil's beautiful episode, where he introduces the prodigies preceding the assassination of Cæsar:

Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat? Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudemque et operta tumescere bella:
Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam,
Quum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit,
Impiaque æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem; &c.
Georg. i. 464.

Consult also the whole history of ancient superstition, as it appeared in the belief of prodigies, admirably discussed

misfortune of the Chians, some extraordinary incidents had occurred:—Of a band of one hun-

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by Warburton, in his Critical and Philosophical Enquiry into the causes of Prodigies and Miracles.

Julius Obsequens collected the prodigies supposed to have appeared within the Roman empire, from its first foundation to the year 742.

Our Shakspeare has made an admirable use of human superstition, with regard to prodigies, in many of his plays, but particularly in Macbeth:

> Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
> Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 'tis day,
> And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp:
> Is it night's predominance, or the day's shame,
> That darkness does the face of earth intomb,
> When living light should kiss it?——

However a moralist and divine may be inclined to reprobate the spirit of Mr. Gibbon, with which he generally seems influenced when speaking of religion, and of Christianity in particular, what he says on the subject of prodigies, from its great good sense, and application to the subject in question, I may introduce without apology.

"The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies, of profane and even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the Deity, and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape, colour, language, and motion to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air."

dred youths[30] whom they sent to Delphi, ninety-eight perished by some infectious disorder; two alone returned. Not long also before the great sea-fight, the roof of a building fell in upon some boys at school, so that of one hundred and twenty children, one only escaped: these warnings were sent them by the deity, for soon after happened the fight at sea, which brought their city to so low a condition. At this period Histiæus appeared with the Lesbians, and easily vanquished a people already exhausted.

XXVIII. Histiæus proceeded from hence on an expedition against Thasus[31], followed by a numerous body of Ionians and Æolians. Whilst he was before this place he learned that the Phœnicians, leaving Miletus, were advancing against the rest of Ionia. He without delay raised the siege of Thasus, and with his whole army passed over to Lesbos; from hence, alarmed by the

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The quicquid Græcia mendax, audet in historia, applied by the Roman satirist to the Greek historians, partakes more of insolence than justice; perhaps it is not very extravagant to affirm, that there are more prodigies in Livy than in all the Greek historians together.—*T.*

30 *One hundred youths.*]—See Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol ii. 443.

31 *Thasus.*]—This was a little island in the Ægean, on the Thracian coast, so called from Thasos, son of Agenor; it was anciently famous for its wine.—See Virgil Georg. ii. 91.

Sunt Thasiæ vites, &c. *T.*

want of necessaries, he crossed to the opposite continent, intending to possess himself of the corn which grew in Atarneum [32], and in the province of Ccaius, belonging to the Mysians. Harpagus, a Persian, was accidentally on this station, at the head of a powerful army: a battle ensued by land, in which Histiæus himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his forces slain.

XXIX. The capture of Histiæus was thus effected: the engagement took place at Malena, in the district of Atarnis, and the Greeks made an obstinate stand against the Persians, till the cavalry pouring in among them, they were unable to resist the impression. Histiæus had conceived the idea that the king would pardon his revolt; and the desire of life so far prevailed, that during the pursuit, when a Persian soldier overtook and had raised his sword to kill him, he exclaimed aloud in the Persian tongue, that he was Histiæus the Milesian.

XXX. I am inclined to believe [33] that if he

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[32] *Atarneum*]—was very fertile in corn, and peopled from the isle of Chios, near which it was.

[33] *I am inclined to believe.*]—Valcnaer remarks on this passage, that humanity was one of the most conspicuous qualities of Darius. The instances of his forgiving various individuals and nations, against whom he had the justest

had been carried alive to the presence of Darius, his life would have been spared, and his fault forgiven. To prevent this, as well as all possibility of his obtaining a second time any influence over the king, Artaphernes the governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had taken him, crucified[34] their prisoner on their return to Sardis. The head they put in salt, and sent to Darius at Susa: Darius on hearing this rebuked them for what they had done, and for not conducting their prisoner alive to his presence. He directed the head to be washed, and honourably interred, as belonging to a man who had de-

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reason to be incensed, are almost without number. In the case of Histiæus, it should however be remembered, that his interposition in preserving the bridge of boats over the Danube, preserved the person and army of Darius. But, perhaps, a perfectly absolute monarch is never implicitly to be trusted, but, like a wild beast, is liable, however tamed and tractable in general, to sudden fits of destructive fury. Of this nature is the detestable fact related of Darius himself, in the 84th chap. of book the 4th; a piece of cruelty aggravated by a cool and deep dissimulation beforehand, which raised false hopes, and renders the comparison still more closely applicable.—*T.*

[34] *Crucified.*]—The moderns are by no means agreed about the particular manner in which the punishment of the cross was inflicted. With respect to our Saviour the Gospels inform us, that he was nailed to the cross through the hands and feet.—This mode of punishment was certainly abolished by Constantine, but prevailed to his time among the Assyrians, Ægyptians, Persians, and Greeks.—*T.*

served well of him and of Persia.—Such was the fate of Histiæus.

XXXI. The Persian forces wintered near Miletus, with the view of renewing hostilities early in the spring; they accordingly, and without difficulty, took Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, contiguous to the continent. At each of these islands, as they fell into their hands, they in this manner inclosed the inhabitants, as it were in a net:—taking each other by the hand, they advanced from the sea on the north, and thus chasing the inhabitants, swept the whole island to the south. They also made themselves masters of the Ionian cities on the continent, but they did not sweep them in the same manner, which indeed was not practicable.

XXXII. The threats of the Persian generals, when first opposed to the Ionians, were fully put in execution: as soon as they possessed their cities, they made eunuchs of their most beautiful youths, who were selected for this purpose. The loveliest of their maidens they sent to the king, and they burned the cities with their temples. The Ionians were thus a third time reduced to servitude, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Persians.

XXXIII. From Ionia the fleet advanced, and

regularly subdued all the places to the left of the Hellespont; those on the right had already been reduced by the Persian forces on the continent. The European side of the Hellespont contains the Chersonese, in which are a number of cities, Perinthus, many Thracian forts, Selybria, and Byzantium. The Byzantians and the Chalcedonians, on the remote parts of the coast, did not wait for the coming of the Phœnician fleet, but forsaking their country, retired to the interior parts of the Euxine, where they built the city Mesambria. The cities thus forsaken were burnt by the Phœnicians, who afterwards advanced against Prœconnesus and Artace; to these also they set fire, and returned to the Chersonese, to destroy those places from which in their former progress they had turned aside. They left Cyzicus unmolested, the inhabitants of which, previous to the arrival of the Phœnician fleet, had submitted to the king, through the mediation of Œbarus, governor of Dascylium, and son of Megabyzus; but, except Cardia, the Phœnicians reduced all the other parts of the Chersonese.

XXXIV. Before this period, all these places were in subjection to Miltiades, son of Cimon, and grandson of Stesagoras. This sovereignty had originated with Miltiades the son of Cypselus, in this manner:—This part of the Chersonese

was possessed by the Thracian Dolonci[35], who being involved in a troublesome contest with the Absinthians, sent their leaders to Delphi, to inquire concerning the event of the war. The Pythian in her answer recommended them to encourage that man to found a colony among them, who on their leaving the temple should first of all offer them the rites of hospitality. The Dolonci returning by the Sacred Way[36], passed through Phocis and Bœotia; not being invited by either of these people, they turned aside to Athens.

XXXV. At this period the supreme authority of Athens was in the hands of Pisistratus[37];

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35 *Dolonci.*]—So called from Doloncus, a son of Saturn.

36 *Sacred Way.*]—There was a very celebrated "Sacred Way" which led from Athens to Eleusis, but this could not be the one intended in this place; it was probably that by which the Athenians accompanied the sacred pomp to Delphi.—*Wesseling.*

The deputations which were repeatedly sent from the different states and cities of Greece to the oracle at Delphi, bore in many instances a strong resemblance to the modern pilgrimages of the Mahometans, to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca, except that these last go to worship, the former went to inquire into futurity.

There was a "Via Sacra" leading from Rome, which had its name from the solemn union which with the attendant ceremonies of sacrifices here took place betwixt Romulus and Tatius, prince of the Sabines.—*T.*

37 *Pisistratus.*]—I have made several remarks on Pisis-

but an important influence was also possessed by Miltiades. He was of a family which maintained four horses[38] for the Olympic games, and was descended from Æacus and Ægina. In more modern times it became Athenian, being first established at Athens by Philæus the son of Ajax. This Miltiades, as he sat before the door

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tratus, in the first volume of this work; but I neglected to mention that Athenæus ranks him among those ancients who were famous for collecting valuable libraries. "Larensius," says Athenæus, "had more books than any of those ancients who were celebrated for their libraries; such as Polycrates of Samos, Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens, Euclid the Athenian, Necocrates of Cyprus, the kings of Pergamus, Euripides the poet, Aristotle the philosopher, Theophrastus, Neleus, who possessed the libraries of the two last-named, and whose descendants sold them to Ptolemy Philadelphus."

The curious intelligence which this citation communicates, affords an excellent specimen of the amusement and information to be gained by the perusal of Athenæus.—*T.*

38 *Four horses.*]—The first person, according to Virgil, who drove with four horses, was Ericthonius:

> Primus Ericthoneus currus et quatuor ausus
> Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.
>
> *Georg.* iii.

Of the passage "He maintained four horses," M. Larcher remarks, "that it is as much as to say he was very rich, for Attica being a barren soil, and little adapted to pasturage, the keeping of horses was necessarily expensive."

In this kind of chariot-race the four horses were ranged a breast; the two in the middle were harnessed to the yoke, the two side horses were fastened by their traces to

of his house[39], perceived the Dolonci passing by; and as by their dress and spears they appeared to be foreigners, he called to them: on their approach he offered them the use of his house, and the rites of hospitality. They accepted his kindness, and being hospitably treated by him, they revealed to him all the will of the oracle, with which they entreated his compliance. Miltiades was much disposed to listen to them, being weary of the tyranny of Pisistratus, and desirous to change his situation: he immediately went to Delphi, to consult the oracle whether he should do what the Dolonci required.

XXXVI. Thus, having received the sanction of the oracle, Miltiades, son of Cypselus, who had formerly at the Olympic games been vic-

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the yoke, or to some other part of the chariot.—*See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games.—T.*

. See Palæphatus Tollii, p. 163.

[39] *Before the door of his house.*]—Abraham and Lot were sitting before the doors of their houses, when they were accosted by the angels of God. Modern travellers to the East remark, that all the better houses have porches or gateways, where the master of the family receives visits, and sits to transact business. There is a passage to the present purpose in Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor;—"At ten minutes after ten in the morning we had in view several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans *sitting by the doors*, under sheds resembling porticoes, or by shady trees, &c."—*T*

torious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, accompanied the Dolonci: he took such of the Athenians as were willing to go with him, and arriving on the spot, was by those who had invited him, elected their prince. His first care was to fortify the isthmus of the Chersonese, from the city Cardia[40] as far as Pactya, to prevent any hostile incursions on the part of the Absinthians. At this point the length of the isthmus is thirty-six furlongs; the extreme length of the Chersonese, including the isthmus, is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

XXXVII. Miltiades blockading the entrance of the Chersonese, and thus keeping out the Absinthians, commenced hostilities with the people of Lampsacum; but they by an ambuscade made him their prisoner. Intelligence of this event being communicated to Crœsus the Lydian, who held Miltiades in great esteem, he sent to the Lampsacenes, requiring them to set him at liberty; threatening on their refusal to destroy them like pines[41]. They deliberated among

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[40] *Cardia.*]—This place was so named from its resemblance to a heart.—*T.*

[41] *Like pines.*]—From the time of Herodotus this expression passed into a proverb, denoting a final destruction, without any possibility of flourishing again.

In nothing was the acuteness and learning of our Bentley

themselves concerning the meaning of this menace from Crœsus, which greatly perplexed them: at length one of their elders explained it, by informing them that of all the trees, the pine was the only one which, once being cut down, put forth no more off-sets, but totally perished. Intimidated by this threat of Crœsus, the Lampsacenes dismissed Miltiades.

XXXVIII. Miltiades thus escaped through the interposition of Crœsus; but dying afterwards without issue, he left his authority and wealth to Stesagoras, son of Cimon, his uterine brother. Upon his death he was honoured by the inhabitants of the Chersonese with the marks of esteem usually paid to the founder of a place; equestrian and gymnastic exercises were periodically observed in his honour, in which

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more apparent, than in his argument against the genuineness of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris, drawn from this expression of Herodotus.—See his Dissertation, last edit. 122. "A strange piece of stupidity in our letter-monger (I cite Bentley's words) or else contempt of his readers, to pretend to assume the garb and person of Phalaris, and yet knowingly to put words in his mouth, not heard of till a whole century after him. What is here individually ascribed to the pine-tree, is applicable to other trees; such as the fir, the palm, the cedar, the cypress, &c. which all perish by lopping." —*T.*

See on this subject my translation of Aulus Gellius, book viii. c. 4.

none of the Lampsacenes are permitted to contend. It afterwards happened, that during a war with the people of Lampsacum, Stesagoras also died, and without children: he was wounded in the head, whilst in the Prytaneum, with a blow from an axe. The person who inflicted the wound pretended to be a deserter, but proved in effect a most determined enemy[42].

XXXIX. After the death of Stesagoras, as

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42 *Determined enemy.*]—I cannot better introduce, than in the midst of a digression like the present, the opinion which Swift entertained of Herodotus. It may justly be regarded as a great curiosity, it proves that Swift had perused the Greek historian with particular attention, it exhibits no mean example of his critical sagacity, and is perhaps the only specimen in being of his skill in Latinity.—It is preserved in Winchester college, in the first leaf of Stevens's edition of Herodotus: and to add to its value, is in Swift's own hand-writing.

Judicium de Herodoto post longum tempus relecto.

"Ctesias mendacissimus Herodotum mendaciorum arguit; exceptis paucissimis (ut mea fert sententia) omni modo excusandum; cæterum diverticulis abundans hic pater historicorum filum narrationis ad tædium abrumpit, unde oritur, ut par est legentibus, confusio et exinde oblivio.—Quin et forsan ipsæ narrationes circumstantiis nimium pro re scatent.—Quod ad cætera hunc scriptorem inter apprimè laudandos censeo neque Græcis neque Barbaris plus æquo faventem aut iniquum—in orationibus fere brevem, simplicem, nec nimis frequentem.—Neque absunt dogmata e quibus eruditus lector prudentiam tam moralem quam civilem haurire potuerit."—*T.*

above described, the Pisistratidæ dispatched in a trireme Miltiades, another son of Cimon, and brother of the deceased Stesagoras, to take the government of the Chersonese. Whilst he was at Athens they had treated him with much kindness, as if ignorant of the death of his father Cimon; the particulars of which I shall relate in another place. Miltiades, as soon as he landed in the Chersonese, kept himself at home, as if in sorrow[43] for his brother: which being known, all the principal persons of the Chersonese assembled from the different cities, and coming in one common public procession, as if to condole with him, he put them in chains; after which he secured the possession of the Chersonese, maintaining a body of five hundred guards.—He then married Hegesipyla, daughter of Olorus king of Thrace*.

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[43] *As if in sorrow.*]—This passage has greatly perplexed all the commentators. It is certain that the word επιτιμεων, as it now stands in the text, is wrong, but it is by no means clear what it ought to be; Valcnaer wishes to read επι πενθεων, which seems very satisfactory in itself, and best agrees with the context, where it is said the great men went to condole with him (συλλυπηθησομενοι.) Wesseling is inclined to read επιτυμβιον, as if to bury him: Larcher, differing from all these readings, renders it "under pretence of doing honour to his memory;" which seems of all others the most difficult to justify, and to rest only on the far-fetched idea, that during the time of mourning people confined themselves to their apartments.—*T.*

* This princess, after the death of Miltiades, married an

XL. The son of Cimon had not been long in the Chersonese, before he was involved in difficulties far heavier than he had yet experienced; for in the third year of his authority he was compelled to fly from the power of the Scythians. The Scythian Nomades being incensed against Darius, assembled their forces, and advanced to the Chersonese. Miltiades, not venturing to make a stand against them, fled at their approach: when they retired, the Dolonci, after an interval of three years, restored him.

XLI. The same Miltiades, on being informed that the Phœnicians were arrived off Tenedos, loaded five triremes with his property, and sailed for Athens. He went on board at Cardia, crossed the gulph of Melas, and passing the Chersonese, he himself, with four of his vessels, eluded the Phœnician fleet, and escaped to Imbros[44]; the fifth was pursued and taken by the

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Athenian of rank. A son, whom she had by this man, she called Olorus, the name of her father. Thucydides was the son of this Olorus; consequently his great grandfather was king of Thrace. These alliances of the Athenians with the most illustrious families of Thrace, induced them to tell Seuthes that he knew the Athenians were their relations. None can be ignorant, that Sadocus, son of Sitalces, king of Odrysus, and the most powerful prince of that country, became a citizen of Athens.—*Larcher.*

[44] *Imbros.*]—This was an island of the Ægean, betwixt

enemy, it was commanded by Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, not by the daughter of Olorus, but by some other female. The Phœnicians, on learning that he was the son of Miltiades, conducted him to the king, expecting some considerable mark of favour; for his father Miltiades had formerly endeavoured to prevail on the Ionians to accede to the advice of the Scythians, who wished them to break down their bridge of boats and return home. Darius, however, so far from treating Metiochus with severity, shewed him the greatest kindness; he gave him a house, with some property, and married him to a woman of Persia: their offspring are considered as Persians.

XLII. Miltiades leaving Imbros, proceeded to Athens: the Persians executed this year no further hostilities against the Ionians, but contrived for them many useful regulations. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, assembled the deputies of the different cities, requiring them to enter into treaty for the mutual observance of justice with respect to each other, and for the prevention of reciprocal depredation and violence. His next step was to divide all the Ionian districts into

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Lemnos and the Thracian Chersonese: it was anciently famous for producing a prodigious number of hares.—Its modern name is Imbro.—*T.*

parasangs* (the Persian name for a measure of thirty furlongs) by which he ascertained the tributes they were severally to pay. This distribution of Artaphernes has continued, with very little variation, to the present period, and was certainly an ordinance which tended to establish the general tranquillity.

XLIII. At the commencement of the spring, the king sent Mardonius to supersede the other commanders: he was the son of Gobryas, a very young man, and had recently married Artozostra, a daughter of Darius. He accordingly appeared on the coast ready to embark, with a considerable

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* *Parasangs.*]—The parasang of Herodotus, by a reference to the ground itself, and an allowance for the inflection of the road, appears to have been about 3,1 geographical miles, or 3,62 of our statute miles. The modern farsang, called also farsook, deduced from the reports of travellers, and compared also with the ground, is at a mean, or an extent of 600 farsangs, about 3,43 statute miles. Colonel Malcolm, who noted the number of farsangs, during his late embassy to Persia, from the Persian Gulph to Rey and Tabera, and thence round by Hamadan to Bagdad, on an extent of about 348 farsangs, allows 6166 yards each, or 3,5 statute miles, which is exactly a mean between the two others, and differing little from either. But 30 farsangs, if we take Strabo's scale of 700 farsangs to a degree, give 2,97 only, and the mean of all the different accounts collected by Major Rennell (see his work on Herodotus, p. 31) is only 2,86. The parasang of Xenophon is formed also of 30 stadia, but is only equal to 3 Roman miles.—*T.*

body of land and sea-forces; arriving at Cilicia, he went himself on board, taking under his command the rest of the fleet: the land army he sent forward to the Hellespont, under the direction of their different officers. Mardonius passed by Asia, and came to Ionia, where an incident happened which will hardly obtain credit with those Greeks who are unwilling to believe that Otanes, in the assembly of the seven conspirators, gave it as his opinion that a popular government would be most for the advantage of Persia:—for Mardonius*, removing the Ionian princes from their station, every where established a democracy. He then proceeded toward the Hellespont, where collecting a numerous fleet and a powerful army, he passed them over the strait in ships, and proceeded through Europe, towards Eretria and Athens.

XLIV. These two cities were the avowed object of his expedition, but he really intended to reduce as many of the Greek cities as he possibly could. By sea, he subdued the Thasians, who attempted no resistance; by land his army re-

* Diodorus Siculus informs us that Mardonius was cousin to Xerxes; he was consequently related to Darius.

Gobryas, his father, was one of the seven conspirators against Smerdis the Magus.

duced all those Macedonians who were more remote: the Macedonians on this side had been reduced before. Leaving Thasos, he coasted by the opposite continent as far as Acanthus; from Acanthus passing onward, he endeavoured to double Mount Athos; but at this juncture a tempestuous wind arose from the north, which pressing hard upon the fleet, drove a great number of ships against mount Athos. He is said on this occasion to have lost three hundred vessels, and more than twenty thousand men: of these, numbers were destroyed by the sea-monsters, which abound off the coast near Athos, others were dashed on the rocks, some lost their lives from their inability to swim, and many perished by the cold.

XLV. Whilst Mardonius with his land-forces was encamped in Macedonia, he was attacked in the night by the Brygi[45] of Thrace, who killed many of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself. They did not, however, finally elude the power of the Persians, for Mardonius would not leave that region till he had effectually reduced them under his power. After this event he led back his army, which had suffered much from the

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45 *Brygi.*]—See book vii. chap. 73, by which it appears that these Brygi were the Phrygians.—See also Valcnaer's note on this word.—*T.*

Brygi, but still more by the tempest off Athos[46]; his return, therefore, to Asia was far from being glorious.

XLVI. In the following year Darius, having

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46 *Athos.*]—"We embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans; it is the ancient Mount Athos in Macedonia, now called both by Greeks and Turks Haion Horos, the Holy Mountain, by reason that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs. It is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which some historians say that Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a shorter way by water from one bay to the other, which seems very improbable, nor did I see any sign of such a work. The bay of Contessa, to the north of this neck of land, was called by the ancients Strymonicus, to the south of the bay of Monte Santo, anciently called Singiticus, and by the Greeks at this day Amouliane, from an island of that name at the bottom of it, between which and the gulph of Salonica is the bay of Haia Mamma, called by the ancients Toronæus. The northern cape of this promontory is called Cape Laura, and is the promontory Nymphæum of the ancients; and the cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory Acrathos: over the former is the highest summit of Mount Athos, all the other parts of it, though hilly, being low in comparison of it: it is a very steep rocky height, covered with pine-trees.—If we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, though I think it cannot be so much, it may be easily computed if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which they say is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above twenty leagues."—*Pococke*, vol. ii. 145.

received intelligence from their neighbours, that the Thasians meditated a revolt, sent them orders to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera. The Thasians had formerly been besieged by Histiæus of Miletus; as therefore they were possessed of considerable wealth, they applied it to the purpose of building vessels of war, and of constructing a stronger wall: their wealth was collected partly from the continent, and partly from their mines. From their gold mines at Scaptesyla[47] they obtained upon an average eighty talents; Thasus* itself did not produce so much, but they were on the whole so affluent, that being generally exempt from taxes, the whole of their annual revenue was two hundred, and in the times of greatest abundance, three hundred talents.

XLVII. These mines I have myself seen; the most valuable are those discovered by the Phœnicians, who, under the conduct of Thasus, first made a settlement in this island, and named it

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[47] *Scaptesyla.*]—In the Greek it is in two words, Σκαπτῆ ὕλῃ, the wood of Scaptæ. Thus in a former chapter, the beautiful coast, Καλη ακτη, or Calacte.—See also Virgil, Æneid vii. 208.

Threiciamque Samon quæ nunc Samothracia fertur. *T.*

* The Thasians had some valuable mines and territories on the coast of Thrace.—See Thucydides, l. 1.

from their leader. The mines so discovered are betwixt a place called Ænyra and Cœnyra. Opposite to Samothracia was a large mountain, which, by the search after mines, has been effectually levelled.

XLVIII. The Thasians, in obedience to the will of Darius, destroyed their walls, and sent their ships to Abdera. To make experiment of the real intentions of the Greeks, and to ascertain whether they were inclined to submit to, or resist his power, Darius sent emissaries to different parts of Greece to demand earth and water [48]. He ordered the cities on the coast who paid him tribute, to construct vessels of war, and transports for cavalry.

XLIX. At the time these latter were preparing, the king's envoys arrived in Greece: most of the people on the continent complied with what was required of them, as did all the islanders whom the messengers visited, and among others the Æginetæ. This conduct gave great offence to the Athenians, who concluded that the Æginetæ had hostile intentions toward

[48] *Earth and water.*]—See in what manner the people of Athens and Lacedæmon treated these messengers, in book the seventh.

them, which in conjunction with the Persians they were resolved to execute. They eagerly therefore embraced this pretext, and accused them at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece.

L. Instigated by their report, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and prince of Sparta, went over to Ægina, determining fully to investigate the matter. He endeavoured to seize the persons of the accused, but was opposed by many of the Æginetæ, and in particular by Crius son of Polycritus, who threatened to make him repent any violent attempts upon his countrymen. He told him that his conduct was the consequence, not of the joint deliberations of the Spartans, but of his being corrupted by the Athenians, otherwise the other king* also would have accompanied and assisted him. He said this in consequence of a letter received from Demaratus. Cleomenes, thus repulsed from Ægina, asked Crius his name; upon being told, "Well then," returned Cleomenes, "you had better tip your "horns with brass,[49] and prepare to resist some "great calamity.

* The English reader must not forget that there were two sovereign princes at Sparta.

[49] *Your horns with brass.*]—In allusion to his name Κριος, which signifies a ram.—See a remarkable verse in the first book of Kings, chap. xxii. ver. 11.

"And

LI. Demaratus, who circulated this report at Sparta to the prejudice of Cleomenes, was the son of Ariston, and himself also a prince of Sparta, though of an inferior branch; both had the same origin, but the family of Eurysthenes, as being the eldest, was most esteemed.

LII. The Lacedæmonians, in opposition to what is asserted by all the poets, affirm that they were first introduced into the region which they now inhabit, not by the sons of Aristodemus, but by Aristodemus himself. He at that time reigned, and was son of Aristomachus, grandson of Cleodæus, and great-grandson of Hyllus. His wife Argia * was daughter of Autesion, granddaughter of Tisamenus, great-grand-daughter of Thersander, and in the fourth descent from Polynices. Her husband, to whom she brought twins, died by some disease almost as soon as he had seen them. The Lacedæmonians of that day, after consulting together, elected for their prince the eldest of these children, as their laws required.

"And Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, made him *horns of iron:* and he said, Thus saith the Lord, With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them."

Horns were always considered as the emblems of strength and power.—*T.*

* Argia was descended in a right line from Cadmus, king of Thebes. She married Aristodemus the father of Eurysthenes and Procles, who were the first kings of Lacedæmon.

They were still at a loss, as the infants so much resembled each other[50]. In this perplexity, they applied to the mother, she also professed herself unable to decide: her ignorance however was only pretended, and arose from her wish to make both her children kings. The difficulty thus remaining, they sent to Delphi for advice. The Pythian commanded them to acknowledge both the children as their kings, but to honour the first-born the most. Receiving this answer from the Pythian, the Lacedæmonians were still unable to discover the first-born child, till a Messenian, whose name was Panites, advised them to take notice which child the mother washed and fed

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[50] *Resembled each other.*]—Upon the perplexities arising from this resemblance of twins to each other, the whole plot of the Menæchmi of Plautus, and the Comedy of Errors of Shakspeare, are made to depend:

> Mercator quidam fuit Syracusis senex,
> Ei sunt nati filii gemini duo,
> Ita forma simili pueri, uti mater sua
> Non internosse posset quæ mammam dabat, &c.
>
> *Prologus ad Menæch.*

> There she had not been long, but she became
> A joyful mother of two goodly sons;
> And, which was strange, the one so like the other
> As could not be distinguish'd, &c.
>
> *Comedy of Errors.*

It seems unnecessary to add, that this latter play is a very minute copy of the former, of which in Shakspeare's time translations in the different languages of Europe were easily to be obtained.—*T.*

first: if she was constant in making a distinction, they might reasonably conclude they had discovered what they wished; if she made no regular preference in this respect of one child to the other, her ignorance of the matter in question was probably unaffected, and they must have recourse to other measures. The Spartans followed the advice of the Messenian, and carefully watched the mother of the children of Aristodemus. Perceiving her, who was totally unconscious of their design, regularly preferring her first-born, both in washing and feeding it, they respected this silent testimony of the mother. The child thus preferred by its parent, they treated as the eldest, and educated at the public expense, calling him Eurysthenes, and his brother Procles. The brothers, when they grew up, were through life at variance with each other, and their enmity was perpetuated by their posterity.

LIII. The above is related on the authority of the Lacedæmonians alone; but I shall now give the matter as it is generally received in Greece.—The Greeks enumerate these Dorian princes in regular succession to Perseus, the son of Danae, passing over the story of the deity; from which account it plainly appears that they were Greeks, and were always so esteemed. These Dorian princes, as I have observed, go no higher than

Perseus, for Perseus had no mortal father from whom his surname could be derived, being circumstanced as Hercules was with respect to Amphitryon. I am therefore justified in stopping at Perseus. If we ascend from Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, we shall find that the ancestors of the Dorian princes were of Ægyptian origin[51].—Such is the Grecian account of their descent.

LIV. The Persians affirm that Perseus was an Assyrian by birth, becoming afterward a Greek, although none of his ancestors were of that nation. The ancestors of Acrisius claim no consanguinity with Perseus[52], being Ægyptians; which account is confirmed by the Greeks.

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[51] *Ægyptian origin.*]—According to Herodotus, all the principal persons of the Dorian family upward, were in a direct line from Ægypt. The same author says, that Perseus was originally from Assyria, according to the traditions of the Persians. The like is said, and with great truth, of the Heraclidæ, who are represented by Plato as of the same race as the Achæmenidæ of Persia. The Persians therefore, and the Grecians, were in great measure of the same family, being equally Cuthites from Chaldea; but the latter came last from Ægypt. *Bryant*, vol. iii. 388.

[52] *No consanguinity with Perseus.*]—Herodotus more truly represents Perseus as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian, and agreeably to this he is said to have married Asterie, the daughter of Belus, the same as Astaroth and Astarte of Canaan, by whom he had a daughter, Hecate. This, though taken from an idle system of theology, yet plainly shews that the history of Perseus had been greatly

LV. In what manner, being Ægyptians, they became princes of the Dorians, having been mentioned by others, I need not relate: but I shall explain what they have omitted.

LVI. The Spartans distinguished their princes by many honourable privileges. The priesthoods of the Lacedæmonian[53] and of the celes-

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misapplied and lowered by being inserted among the fables of Greece, &c.—*Bryant*, vol. ii. 64.

The following note is from Bellanger and Wesseling, as quoted by Larcher:

Persee, according to a remark by Le Clerc on Hesiod Theog. v. 280, is a Phœnician word, and signifies a knight. Thus it is both an epithet and a proper name. This name suits Perseus with regard to his horse Pegasus. One thing prevents me, says Bellanger, from adopting this Phœnician etymology, which is, that Persee had a son named Perses, from whom the Persians were called. See Herod. book vii. c. 61. Persee, or Perses, are nearly the same names.

If, says Wesseling, the tradition related by Herodotus in this place, and in book vii. c. 61, is really true; that is, if Persee was the son of Danae and Jupiter, and that he had a son called Perses by Andromeda, who gave his name to the Persian nation, the Greeks and Persians are agreed as to his father and mother; but if the latter people will not allow Acrisius to be the grandfather of Persee, nor at all related to him, then Danae must have been an Assyrian.

53 *Lacedæmonian.*]—Larcher remarks on this expression, that Herodotus is the only writer who distinguishes Jupiter by this appellation. I have before observed, that the office of priesthood and king were anciently united in the same person.—He was probably the same with Jupiter (tonans); λακειν is sonare.

tial Jupiter[54] were appropriated to them: they had the power also of making hostile expeditions wherever they pleased, nor might any Spartan obstruct them without incurring the curses of their religion. In the field of battle their post is in the front; when they retire, in the rear. They have a hundred chosen men[55] as a guard for their person: when upon their march, they may take for their use as many sheep as they think proper, and they have the back[56] and the

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[54] *Celestial Jupiter.*]—This epithet was, I suppose, given to Jupiter, because the sky was considered as his particular department.—See the answer of Neptune to Iris, in the fifteenth book of the Iliad:

> Three brother deities from Saturn came,
> And ancient Rhea, Earth's immortal dame:
> Assign'd by lot, our triple rule we know;
> Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;
> O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
> Ethereal Jove extends his wide domain;
> My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
> And hush the roarings of the sacred deep. *T.*

[55] *A hundred chosen men.*]—In times of peace, the Lacedæmonian princes were not attended by guards; Thucydides says, that in war they had three hundred.—*T.*

The words of Thucydides are, "falling behind with the rest of the army, and particularly with the troops of the centre, where king Agis was with his guard of three hundred men, whom they call knights."

[56] *The back.*]—By the back we must understand the chine; and we learn as well from Homer, as other ancient writers, that it was always considered as the honourable portion.

skin [57] of all that are sacrificed. Such are their privileges in war.

LVII. In peace also they have many distinctions. In the solemnity of any public sacrifice the first place is always reserved for the kings, to whom not only the choicest things are presented, but twice as much as to any other person [58]. They have moreover the first of every

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See Odyssey, book iv, where Telemachus visits Menelaus at Sparta.

> Ceasing benevolent, he straight assigns
> The royal portion of the choicest *chines*
> To each accepted friend.

See also the Iliad, book vii.

> The king himself, an honorary sign,
> Before great Ajax plac'd the mighty *chine*. *T.*

57 *The skin.*]—These skins, we find, were allotted to the princes during the time of actual service, when, as their residence was in tents, they must have been of the greatest service both as seats and as beds.—See Leviticus, vii. 8, where it appears that the priest had the skin.

" And the priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt-offering which he hath offered."

They were serviceable also in another respect, as they were made into bottles to preserve wine, and to carry liquids of different kinds. Of skins also the first clothes were made. —*T.*

58 *Twice as much as to any other person.*]—Instances of this mode of shewing reverence and distinction occur repeatedly in Homer. Diomed, as a mark of honour, had more meat

libation[59], and the skins of the sacrificed victims. On the first and seventh of every month they give to each of them a perfect animal, which is sacrificed in the temple of Apollo. To this is added a medimnus of meal, and a Lacedæmonian

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and wine than any other person. Agamemnon also, and Idomeneus, have more wine than the rest. Benjamin's mess was five times as large as that of his brethren. Xenophon observes, that Lycurgus did not assign a double portion to the kings, because they were to eat twice as much as any body else, but that they might give it to whom they pleased. We find from Homer, that this also was a common practice during the repast, to give of their own portion to some friend or favourite. Accordingly in the Odyssey, we find in some very beautiful lines, that Ulysses gave a portion of the chine reserved for himself to Demodocus, "The Bard of Fame."

> The bard an herald guides: the gazing throng
> Pay low obeisance as he moves along:
> Beneath a sculptur'd arch he sits enthron'd,
> The peers encircling, form an awful round:
> Then from the chine Ulysses carves with art,
> Delicious food, an honorary part.
> "This let the master of the lyre receive,
> "A pledge of love, 'tis all a wretch can give:
> "Lives there a man beneath the spacious skies
> "Who sacred honours to the bard denies?" &c. *T.*

[59] *Libation.*]—The ceremony of offering a libation was this: When, previous to sacrifice, the sacred meal mixed with salt was placed upon the head of the victim, the priest took the vessel which held the wine, and just tasting it himself, gave it to those near him to taste also: it was then poured upon the head of the beast betwixt the horns. The burnt-offerings enjoined by the Mosaic law were in like manner accompanied by libations.—See Exodus, xxix. 40. —*T.*

quart of wine[60]. In the public games, they sit in the most distinguished place[61]; they appoint whomsoever they please to the dignity of Proxeni[62], and each of them chooses two Pythii. The Pythii are those who are sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and are maintained at the public expense as well as the kings. If the kings do not think proper to take their repast in public, two chœnices of meal with a cotyla of wine are sent to their respective houses; but if they are present, they receive a double portion. If any private person invite them to an entertainment, a similar respect is shewn them. The oracular

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60 *Medimnus of meal—quart of wine.*]—

"Then shall he that offereth an offering unto the Lord bring a meat-offering of a tenth-deal of flour, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil.

"And the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink-offering shalt thou prepare, with the burnt-offering, or sacrifice."—Numbers, xv. 4, 5.

61 *Most distinguished place.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that wherever the kings appeared every body rose, out of reverence to their persons, except the Ephori. Of these magistrates Larcher remarks, that they were in some respect superior in dignity to the kings, to limit whose authority they were first instituted.—*T.*

62 *Proxeni.*]—It was the business of the Proxeni to entertain the embassadors from foreign states, and introduce them at the public assemblies.

Xenos is the individual who exercises private hospitality. Proxenos is he who is appointed by the Pythii for this purpose.

declarations are preserved by them, though the Pythii also must know them. The kings alone have the power of deciding in the following matters, and they decide these only: They choose an husband for an heiress, if her father had not previously betrothed her: they have the care of the public ways; whoever chooses to adopt a child[63], must do it in the presence of the kings. They assist at the deliberations of the senate, which is composed of twenty-eight persons. In case of their not appearing, those senators who are the nearest relations to the kings, take their place and privilege, having two voices independent of their own *.

LVIII. Such are the honours paid by the Spartans to their princes whilst alive; they have others after their decease. Messengers are sent

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63 *Adopt a child.*]—The custom of adoption among the Romans was much more frequent than among the Greeks, though borrowed of the latter by the former. In Greece, an eunuch could not adopt a child; and it was necessary that the person adopted should be eighteen years younger than the person who adopted him. In Rome, the ceremony of adoption was performed before the prætor, or before an assembly of the people. In the times of the emperors, the permission of the prince was sufficient.—*T.*

* Thucydides contradicts this assertion; but the Scholiast, on this matter, reconciles the seeming difference, by saying, that the Lacedæmonian kings gave but one vote each, but each vote told for two.

to every part of Sparta to relate the event, whilst the women beat on a caldron[64] through the city. At this signal, one free-born person of each sex in every family is compelled under very heavy penalties to disfigure themselves. The same ceremonies which the Lacedæmonians observe on the death of their kings, are practised also by the Barbarians of Asia; the greater part of whom on a similar occasion, use these rites. When a king of Lacedæmon dies, a certain number of Lacedæmonians, independent of the Spartans, are obliged, from all parts of Lacedæmon, to attend his funeral. When these, together with the Helots[65] and Spartans, to the amount of several

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64 *The women beat on a caldron.*]—A very curious incident relative to this circumstance is given us by Ælian, in his Various History. The Lacedæmonians having subdued the Messenians, took to themselves the half of all their property, and compelled their free-born women, εις τα πενθη βαδιζειν, to walk in the funeral processions, and to lament at the deaths of those with whom they were not at all connected.

Women who were free-born never appeared at funerals, except at those of their relations, much less did they lament like the women hired for this purpose, which we find from the above passage the Lacedæmonians compelled the Messenian women to do. It is to be observed, that the women were much more rigorously secluded in Greece than in Rome.—*T.*

65 *Helots.*]—The Helots were a kind of public slaves to the Spartans, and rendered so by the right of conquest.

thousands, are assembled in one place, they begin, men and women, to beat their breasts, to make loud and dismal lamentations[66], always exclaiming of their last prince, that he was of all preceding ones the best. If one of their kings die in battle, they make a representation of his person, and carry it to the place of interment upon a bier richly adorned. When it is buried, there is an interval of ten days from all business

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They took their name from Helos, a Lacedæmonian town; their slavery was rigorous in the extreme, but they might on certain terms obtain their freedom. Upon them the business of agriculture and commerce entirely depended, whilst their haughty masters were employed in gymnastic exercises or in feasting. For a more particular account of them, consult Cragius de Republica Lacedæmon, and Archbishop Potter.—*T.*

66 *Lamentations.*]—This custom still prevails in Ægypt, and in various parts of the East. "When the corpse," says Dr. Russel, "is carried out, a number of sheiks with their tattered banners walk first, next come the male friends, and after them the corpse, carried with the head foremost upon men's shoulders. The nearest male relations immediately follow, and the women close the procession with dreadful shrieks."

See also what Mascrier tells us from M. Maillet, that not only the relations and female friends in Ægypt surround the corpse while it remains unburied, with the most bitter cries, scratching and beating their faces so violently as to make them bloody, and black and blue. Those of the lower kind also are apt to call in certain women who *play on tabors*, &c. The reader will find many similar examples collected in "Observations on Scripture," vol. iii. 408, 9. Leviticus, chap. xix. v. 28.—*T.*

and amusement, with every public testimony of sorrow.

LIX. They have also another custom in common with the Persians. When a prince dies, his successor remits every debt due either to the prince or the public. In Persia also, he who is chosen king remits to every city whatever tributes happen to be due.

LX. In one instance, the Lacedæmonians observe the usage of Ægypt. Their heralds, musicians, and cooks, follow the profession of their fathers. The son of a herald is of course a herald, and the same of the other two professions. If any man has a louder voice than the son of a herald, it signifies nothing.

LXI. Whilst Cleomenes was at Ægina, consulting for the common interest of Greece, he was persecuted by Demaratus, who was influenced not by any desire of serving the people of Ægina, but by jealousy and malice. Cleomenes on his return endeavoured to degrade his rival from his station, for which he had the following pretence:—Ariston succeeding to the throne of Sparta, married two wives, but had children by neither; not willing to believe that any defect existed on his part, he married a third time. He had a friend, a native of Sparta, to whom on all

occasions he shewed a particular preference. This friend had a wife, who from being remarkable for her ugliness[67], became exceedingly beautiful. When an infant her features were very plain and disagreeable, which was a source of much affliction to her parents, who were people of great affluence[68]. Her nurse seeing this, recommended that she should every day be carried to the temple of Helen, situate in a place called Therapne near the temple of Apollo. Here the nurse regularly presented herself with the child, and standing near the shrine implored the goddess to remove the girl's deformity. As she was one day departing from the temple, a woman is said to have appeared to her, inquiring what she carried in her arms: the nurse replied it was a child. She desired to see it; this the nurse, having had orders to that effect from the parents, at first refused, but seeing that the woman persevered in her wish, she at length complied. The stranger, taking the infant in her arms, stroked it on the face, saying, that hereafter she should

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[67] *Remarkable for her ugliness.*]—Pausanias says, that from being remarkable for her ugliness, she became the most beautiful woman in Greece, ὑπο Ἑλενης, next to Helen.—*T.*

[68] *Great affluence.*]—How was it possible, asks M. Larcher in this place, to have great riches in Sparta? All the lands of Lacedæmon were divided in equal portions among the citizens, and gold and silver were prohibited under penalty of death.

become the loveliest woman of Sparta; and from that hour her features began to improve. On her arriving at a proper age, Agetus son of Alcides, and the friend of Ariston, made her his wife.

LXII. Ariston, inflamed with a passion for this woman, took the following means to obtain his wishes: he engaged to make her husband a present of whatever he would select from his effects, on condition of receiving a similar favour in return. Agetus having no suspicion with respect to his wife, as Ariston also was married, agreed to the proposal, and it was confirmed by an oath. Ariston accordingly gave his friend whatever it was that he chose, whilst he in return, having previously determined the matter, demanded the wife of Agetus. Agetus said, that he certainly did not mean to comprehend her in the agreement; but, influenced by his oath, the artifice of the other finally prevailed, and he resigned her to him.

LXIII. In this manner Ariston, having repudiated his second wife, married a third, who in a very short time, and within a less period than ten months [69], brought him this Demaratus.

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[69] *Within a less period than ten months.*]—This, it seems,

Whilst the father was sitting at his tribunal, attended by the Ephori, he was informed by one of his domestics of the delivery of his wife: re-

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was thought sufficient cause to suspect the legitimacy of a child. It is remarkable, that ten months is the period of gestation generally spoken of by the ancients.—See Plut. in the Life of Alcibiades; and Virgil, Ecl. iv.

Matri longa *decem* tulerunt fastidia *menses*.

A. Gellius, who gives a curious dissertation on the subject, l. iii. cap. 16, seems to pronounce very positively, that it was ten months fully completed; decem menses non inceptos sed exactos; but we should take the whole sentence together—eumque esse hominem gignendi *summum finem*, decem menses non inceptos sed exactos. This I understand as if he had written, "but that the *utmost* period (not the *usual*) is when the tenth month is not only begun, but completed;" namely, when the child is born in the beginning of the eleventh month. To this effect he mentions afterwards a decision of the decemviri under Hadrian, that infants were born regularly in *ten months*, not in the eleventh; this however the emperor set aside, as not being an infallible rule. It appears then, that the ancients, when they spoke of ten months, meant that the tenth month was the time for the birth; and if they express themselves so as to make it appear that they meant ten months complete, it is because they usually reckoned inclusively. The difference between solar and lunar months, to which some have had recourse, does not remove any of the difficulty. Hippocrates speaks variously of the period of gestation, but seems to reckon the longest 280 days, or nine months and ten days. We are told that the ancient Persians, in the time of Zoroaster, counted into the age of a man the *nine* months of his conception.—*Sadder*, cited by M. de Pastoret, in a Treatise on Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet.—*T*

flecting on the interval of time which had elapsed since his marriage, he reckoned the number of months upon his fingers *, and said with an oath, "This child is not mine." The Ephori, who heard him, did not at the moment esteem what he said of any importance [70]: afterwards, when the child grew up, Ariston changed his sentiments concerning the legitimacy of his son, and repented of the words which had escaped him. Demaratus owed his name † to the following circumstance: Before he was born the people had unanimously made a public supplication that Ariston, the best of their kings, might have a son.

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* *Fingers.*]—This was certainly the first mode of reckoning. The ancients counted to a hundred by the fingers on the right hand, and began the second hundred on their left. This idea explains the following lines in Juvenal:

Felix nimirum qui tot per sæcula mortem
Distulit, atque suos jam dextra computat annos.
Sat. x. v. 248. See Gifford's Translation.

Holyday has a very long but tedious note on this subject.

[70] *Of any importance.*]—The inattention or indifference of the Ephori in this instance must appear not a little remarkable, when it is considered that it was one part of their appropriate duty to watch over the conduct of their queens, in order to prevent the possibility of any children succeeding to the throne who were not of the family of Hercules.—*T.*

† *Owed his name;*]—which means prayed for by the people, being compounded of *Demos*, the people, and *aretos*, prayed for.—*T.*

LXIV. Ariston died, and Demaratus succeeded to his authority. But it seemed destined that the above expression should cost him his crown. He was in a particular manner odious to Cleomenes, both when he withdrew his army from Eleusis, and when Cleomenes passed over to Ægina, on account of the favour which the people of that place showed to the Medes.

LXV. Cleomenes being determined to execute vengeance on his rival, formed a connection with Leotychides, who was of the family of Demaratus, being the son of Menaris, and grandson of Agis: the conditions were, that Leotychides should succeed to the dignity of Demaratus, and should in return assist Cleomenes in his designs upon Ægina. Leotychides entertained an implacable animosity against Demaratus. He had been engaged to marry Percalos, the daughter of Chilon *, grand-daughter of Demarmenes, but Demaratus insidiously prevented him, and by a mixture of violence and artifice married Per-

* This Chilon was mentioned, book i. c. 59, and his name again occurs in book vii. c. 235. This is not he who was esteemed one of the seven wise men; nevertheless, in this latter passage, he is denominated one of the wisest of the Spartans. He was, however, the son of Damagetes; and Chilon, one of the seven sages, was the son of Demarmenes.

calos himself. He was therefore not at all reluctant to accede to the proposals of Cleomenes, and to assist him against Demaratus. He asserted, therefore, that Demaratus did not lawfully possess the throne of Sparta, not being the son of Ariston. He was, consequently, careful to remember and repeat the expression which had fallen from Ariston, when his servant first brought him intelligence of the birth of a son; for, after computing the time, he had positively denied that he was his. Upon this incident Leotychides strongly insisted, and made no scruple of declaring openly, that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston, and that his authority was illegal[71]; to confirm this he adduced the testimony of those Ephori who were present when Ariston so expressed himself.

LXVI. As the matter began to be a subject of general dispute, the Spartans thought proper to consult the oracle of Delphi, whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston or not. Cleomenes was not at all suspected of taking any care to

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71 *Was illegal.*]—This story is related with equal minuteness by Pausanias, book iii. c. 4; from whence we may conclude, that when there was even any suspicion of the infidelity of the queens, their children were incapacitated from succeeding to the throne. It should, however, be remembered that this queen really was not unfaithful.—See Pausanias also on a similar subject, book iii. chap. 8.—*T.*

influence the Pythian; but it is certain that he induced Cobon, son of Aristophantes, a man of very great authority at Delphi, to prevail on the priestess to say what Cleomenes desired[72]. The

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[72] *To say what Cleomenes desired.*]—It is impossible sufficiently to lament the ignorance and delusion of those times, when an insidious expression, corruptly obtained from the Pythian, was sufficient to involve a whole kingdom in misery and blood: of this the fate of Crœsus, as recorded in the first book of Herodotus, is a memorable instance; but I have before me an exampl , in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, where this artifice and seduction of the Pythian had a contrary effect. It was by bribing the priestess of Delphi that Lycurgus obtained from the Lacedæmonians an obedience, which rendered their nation great and powerful, and their legislator immortal. Demosthenes also, in one of his orations against Philip, accuses that monarch of seducing, by bribes, the oracle to his purpose. However the truth of this may be established from many well-authenticated facts, the following picture from Lucan, of the priestess of Delphi under the supposed influence of the god, can never fail of claiming our applause and admiration, though we pity the credulity which regarded, and the spirit which prompted, such impostures:

Tandem conterrita virgo
Confugit ad tripodas, vastisque abducta cavernis
Hæsit, et insueto concepit pectore numen,
Quod non exhaustæ per tot jam sæcula rupis
Spiritus ingessit vati: tandemque potitus
Pectore Cirrhæo, non unquam plenior artus
Phœbados irrupit Pæan: mentemque priorem
Expulit, atque hominem toto sibi cedere jussit
Pectore. Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum

name of this woman was Perialla, who assured those sent on this occasion, that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. This collusion being afterwards discovered, Cobon was compelled to fly from Delphi, and Perialla was degraded from her office.

LXVII. Such were the measures taken to deprive Demaratus of his dignity: an affront which was afterwards shown him, induced him to take refuge among the Medes. After the loss of his throne he was elected to preside in some inferior office, and happened to be present at the Gymnopædia[73]. Leotychides, who had been

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Colla ferens, vittasque dei, Phœbeaque serta
Erectis discussa comis, per inania templi
Ancipiti cervice rotat, spargitque vaganti
Obstantes tripodas, magnoque exæstuat igne. *T.*

[73] *Gymnopædia.*]—This word is derived from γυμνος, naked, and παις, a child; at this feast naked children sung hymns in honour of Apollo, and of the three hundred who died at Thermopylæ. Athenæus describes it as a kind of Pyrrhic dance, in which the young men accompanied the motion of their feet with certain corresponding and graceful ones of their arms; the whole represented the real exercise of wrestling.—*T.*

This festival was celebrated in the month Hecatombion, which answers to our July. In these and other solemnities, it is not to be understood, when it is said that the performers or characters were naked, that they were entirely so; a vesture of some kind or other was invariably worn round the middle.

elected king in the room of Demaratus, meaning to ridicule and insult him, sent a servant to ask him what he thought of his present, compared with his former office. Demaratus, incensed by the question, replied, that he himself had experienced both, which the person who asked him had not; he added, that this question should prove the commencement of much calamity or happiness to Sparta. Saying this, with his head veiled, he retired from the theatre to his own house; where, having sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, he sent for his mother.

LXVIII. On her appearance, he placed in her hands the entrails of the victim, and solemnly addressed her in these words: "I call upon you, "mother, in the name of all the gods, and in "particular by Jupiter Hercæus[74], in whose "immediate presence we are, to tell me, without "disguise, who my father was. Leotychides, in "the spirit of hatred and jealousy, has objected "to me, that when you married Ariston you

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[74] *Jupiter Hercæus.*]—Jupiter was worshipped under this title, as the Deus Penetralis, the protector of the innermost recesses of the house: he was so called from Ἕρκος, which signifies the interior part of a house. Larcher quotes at this passage the following words, from Servius on Virgil:

"Dictus autem Jupiter Hercæus quia ara ejus erat intra aulam, et septum parietem, edificata, quod Græce Ἕρκος dicitur."—*T.*

" were with child by your former husband: " others more insolently have asserted, that one " of your slaves, an ass-driver, enjoyed your " familiarity, and that I am his son; I entreat " you, therefore, by every thing sacred, to dis- " close the truth. If you have really done what " is related of you, your conduct is not without " example, and there are many in Sparta who " believe that Ariston had not the power of " becoming a father; otherwise, they say, he " must have had children by his former wives."

LXIX. His mother thus replied: "My son, " as you have thus implored me to declare the " truth, I will not deceive you. When Ariston " had conducted me to his house, on the third " night of our marriage, a personage appeared[75]

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[75] *A personage appeared.*]—This story in many respects bears a resemblance to what is related in Grecian history of the birth of Alexander the Great. The chastity of his mother Olympia being in a similar manner questioned, the fiction of his being the son of Jupiter, who conversed familiarly with his mother in the form of a serpent, at first found advocates with the ignorant and superstitious, and was afterwards confirmed and established by his career of conquest and glory. Of this fable no happier use has ever been made, than by Dryden, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's Day:

> The song began from Jove,
> Who left his blissful seats above;
> Such is the power of mighty Love:

A dragon's

" to me perfectly resembling Ariston, who after " enjoying my person, crowned me with a gar- " land[76] he had in his hand, and retired. Soon " afterwards Ariston came to me, and seeing me " with a garland, inquired who gave it me; I " said that he had, but this he seriously denied:

A dragon's fiery form belied the god;
Sublime on radiant spires he trod,
When he to fair Olympia press'd;
And while he sought her snowy breast,
Then round her slender waist he curl'd,
And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, informs us that a dragon was once seen to lie close to Olympia, whilst she slept; after which her husband Philip, either suspecting her to be an enchantress, or imagining some god to be his rival, could never be induced to regard her with affection. —*T.*

It is to be feared, that in the times of ancient superstition, profligate men and licentious priests availed themselves of such abominable artifices to ruin the chastity of women. A memorable story is related of the priests of Isis, at Rome, who were bribed by a rich senator to promote his designs on a beautiful Roman lady, whom he enjoyed under the fictitious character of Osiris. I have published the story at length in my third volume of Miscellanies. The Emperor discovered the fraud, and the priests were put to death.

[76] *Crowned me with a garland.*]—We learn from a passage in Ovid, not only that it was customary to wear garlands in convivial meetings, which other authors tell us in a thousand places, but that in the festive gaiety of the moment, it was not unusual for one friend to give them to another:

Huic si forte bibes, sortem concede priorem,
Huic detur capiti dempta corona tuo. *T.*

" I protested, however, that he had; and, I
" added, it was not kind in him to deny it, who,
" after enjoying my person, placed the garland
" on my head. Ariston, seeing that I persevered
" in my story, was satisfied that there had been
" some divine interposition[77]; and this opinion
" was afterwards confirmed, from its appearing
" that this garland had been taken from the
" shrine of the hero Astrobacus, which stands
" near the entrance of our house; and indeed a
" soothsayer declared, that the personage I speak
" of was that hero himself.—I have now, my son,
" told you all that you wished to know; you are
" either the son of Astrobacus, or of Ariston,
" for that very night I conceived. Your enemies
" particularly object to you, that Ariston, when

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[77] *Divine interposition.*]—Innumerable instances occur in ancient history, from which we may conclude, that the passions of intemperate but artful men did not fail to avail themselves of the ignorance and superstitious credulity, with which the heathen world was overspread, to accomplish their dishonest purposes. It were endless to specify examples in all respects resembling this before us; but it may seem wonderful, that their occurring so very often did not tend to awaken suspicion, and interrupt their success. Some licentious minister of the divine personage in question might easily crown himself with a consecrated garland, avail himself of an imputed resemblance to the husband of the woman who had excited his passion, and with no greater difficulty prevail on a brother priest to make a declaration, which at the same time softened the crime of the woman, and gratified her vanity.—*T.*

" he first heard of your birth, declared in the " presence of many that you could not possibly " be his son, as the time of ten months was not " yet completed; but he said this from his ig- " norance of such matters. Some women are " delivered at nine, others at seven months; all " do not go ten. I was delivered of you at " seven; and Ariston himself afterwards con- " fessed that he had uttered those words fool- " ishly.—With regard to all other calumnies, " you may safely despise them, and rely upon " what I have said. As to the story of the ass- " driver, may the wives of Leotychides, and of " those who say such things, produce their hus- " bands children from ass-drivers."

LXX. Demaratus having heard all that he wished, took some provisions, and departed for Elis; he pretended, however, that he was gone to consult the oracle at Delphi. The Lacedæmonians suspected, and pursued him. Demaratus had already crossed from Elis to Zacynthus, where the Lacedæmonians still following him, seized his person and his servants; these they carried away, but the Zacynthians refusing to let them take Demaratus, he passed over to Asia, where he was honourably received by Darius, and presented with many lands and cities. —Such was the fortune of Demaratus, a man distinguished among his countrymen by many

memorable deeds and sayings; and who alone, of all the kings of Sparta[78], obtained the prize in the Olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horses.

LXXI. Leutychides the son of Menaris, who succeeded Demaratus after he had been deposed, had a son named Zeuxidamus, called by some of the Spartans, Cyniscus, or the whelp. He never enjoyed the throne of Sparta, but dying before his father, left a son named Archidamus. Leutychides, on the loss of his son, took for his second wife Eurydame, sister of Menius, and daughter of Diactoris; by her he had a daughter called Lampito, but no male offspring: she, by the consent of Leutychides, was married to Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus.

LXXII. The latter days of Leutychides were not spent in Sparta; but the cause of Demaratus was avenged in this manner:—Leutychides commanded an army of his countrymen, in an expedition against Thessaly, and might have reduced the whole country; but suffering himself to be

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78 *Alone, of all the kings of Sparta.*]—At this passage Valcnaer remarks, that these Spartan princes were probably of the opinion of Agesilaus, who, as is recorded in Plutarch, said, that the victories at these games were obtained rather by riches than by merit.—*T.*

bribed by a large sum of money, he was detected in his own camp, sitting on a sack of money[79]. Being brought to a public trial, he was driven from Sparta, and his house razed[80]. He fled to

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[79] *Sack of money.*]—"In the more ancient manuscripts," says Wesseling, "these two words were probably joined together, in this manner, χειριδιπλει: whence the copyists made these two χειρι διπλει, or διπλῆ, when it ought to have been χειριδι πλεῖ."

Various errors of a similar kind have crept into modern editions of ancient books. I give one remarkable instance from Buchanan.

In the last chorus of the Alcestis, it was formerly read,

Και τον εν χαλυβοισι
Δαμαζεις ου βιᾳ σιδαρον:

Which Buchanan accordingly rendered,

Tu ferrum sine vi domas
Montes quod Chalybum creant.

Whereas the reading ought to be,

Και τον εν χαλυβεσσι
Δαμαζει σου βια σιδαρον.

Ferrum vis tua perdomat
Montes, quod, &c.—See *Barnes.* *T.*

[80] *His house razed.*]—This still continues part of the punishment annexed to the crime of high treason in France, and to great state crimes in many places. In the moment of popular fury, when violent resentment will not wait the slow determinations of the law to be appeased, it may admit of some extenuation; but that in a civilized people it should be a part of any legal decision, seems preposterous and unmeaning.—*T.*

Since

Tegea, where he died; but the above events happened some time afterward.

LXXIII. Cleomenes, having succeeded in his designs upon Demaratus, took with him Leutychides, and proceeded against Ægina, with which he was exceedingly exasperated, on account of the insult he had received. The people of Ægina, on seeing themselves assailed by the two kings, did not meditate a long resistance; ten of the most illustrious and affluent were selected as hostages: among these were Crios, son of Polycritus, and Casambris, son of Aristocrates, men of considerable authority. Being carried to Attica, they there remained among their most inveterate enemies.

LXXIV. Cleomenes afterwards fled to Thessaly; for his treachery against Demaratus becoming manifest, he feared the resentment of the Spartans: from thence he went to Arcadia, where he endeavoured to raise a commotion, by

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Since the above was written, every thing in France has been so totally subverted, that it is difficult to say either what is the actual punishment of high treason, or what is necessary to constitute the crime. Any person who is more particularly obnoxious to the reigning power, is made to disappear; they who are in a slighter degree offensive, are sent to Cayenne. The house of the culprit is no longer razed.

stirring up the Arcadians against Sparta. Among other oaths, he exacted of them an engagement, to follow him wherever he should think proper to conduct them. He particularly wished to carry the principal men to the city of Nonacris, there to make them swear by the waters of Styx[81].

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81 *Waters of Styx.*]—It appears by this passage that the Greeks assembled at Nonacris to swear by the waters of Styx; when their oaths were to be considered as inviolable: the gods also swore by Styx, and it was the greatest oath they could use. "This water," observes Pausanias, "is mortal to men and animals;" it was, doubtless, for this reason that it was said to be a fountain of the infernal regions. This water could not be preserved, but in a vessel made of the horn of a mule's hoof. See Pliny, N. H. l. xxx. c. 16.—"Ungulas tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiam quæ non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ." Pausanias gives the same efficacy to the horn of a horse's hoof; and Plutarch to that of an ass.—*Larcher.*

A few particulars on this subject, omitted by Larcher, and less familiar perhaps to an English reader, I shall add to the above. Pliny says, it was remarkable for producing a fish, the taste of which was fatal. The solemnity with which the gods regarded the swearing by Styx, is mentioned by Virgil:

> Stygiamque paludem
> Dii cujus jurare timent et fallere numen.
>
> The sacred streams which heaven's imperial state
> Attests in oaths, and fears to violate.

The circumstance of this oath being regarded by the gods as inviolable, is mentioned by Homer, Hesiod, and all the more ancient writers: Homer calls it, δεινοτατον μακαρεσσι. The punishment supposed to be annexed to the

These are said to be found in this part of Arcadia: there is but little water, and it falls drop by drop from a rock into a valley, which is inclosed by a circular wall.—Nonacris is an Arcadian city, near Phereos.

LXXV. When the Lacedæmonians heard what Cleomenes was doing, through fear of the consequences, they invited him back to Sparta, offering him his former dignity and station. Immediately on his return he was seized with madness, of which he had before discovered very strong symptoms: for whatever citizen he happened to meet, he scrupled not to strike him on the face with his sceptre[82]. This extravagant

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perjury of gods in this instance, was that of being tortured 9,000 years in Tartarus.—See Servius on the 6th book of the Æneid.—*T.*

[82] *With his sceptre.*]—That princes and individuals of high rank carried their sceptres, or insignia of their dignity, frequently in their hands, may be concluded from various passages of ancient writers: many examples of this occur in Homer. When Thersites clamorously endeavoured to excite the Greeks to murmurs and sedition, Ulysses is described as striking him with the sceptre he had in his hand:

> He said, and cowering as the dastard bends,
> The weighty sceptre on his back descends:
> On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise;
> The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes.

The most ancient sceptre was probably a staff to rest upon, for Ovid describes Jupiter as resting upon his; it was a

behaviour induced his friends to confine him in a pair of stocks; seeing himself, on some occasion, left with only one person to guard him, he demanded a sword; the man at first refused to obey him, but finding him persist in his request, he at length, being an Helot, and afraid of what he threatened, gave him one. Cleomenes, as soon as he received the sword, began to cut the flesh off his legs[83]; from his legs he ascended to his thighs, from his thighs to his loins, till at length, making gashes in his belly, he died. The Greeks in general consider his death as occasioned by his having bribed the Pythian[84] to give an

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more ancient emblem of royalty than the crown: the first Roman who assumed the sceptre was Tarquin the Proud. —*T.*

[83] *Cut the flesh off his legs.*]—Longinus instances this and a similar passage in Herodotus, to shew how a mean action may be expressed in bold and lofty words; see section xxxi. —the word here used by Herodotus is καταχορδεύων. The other passage of Herodotus, alluded to by Longinus, is in book vii. c. 181, where three Grecian ships are described as resisting ten Persian vessels: speaking of Pythes, who commanded one of the former, he says, "that after his ship was taken, he persevered in fighting," ες ὁ κατεκρεουργήθη απας, or, as we should say in English, "till he was quite cut in pieces."—*T.*

[84] *Having bribed the Pythian.*]—The disease of madness was frequently considered by the ancients as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts of impiety and wickedness.—Orestes was struck with madness for killing his mother; Œdipus, for a similar crime; Ajax Oileus for violating the sanctity of a temple, &c.—*T.*

answer against Demaratus. The Athenians alone assert, that he was thus punished for having plundered the temple of the goddesses at Eleusis[85]. The Argives say, that it was because he had forced many of their countrymen from the refuge they had taken in a temple of Argos[86], and had

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85 *Goddesses of Eleusis.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

"We turned to the south, into the plain Eleusis, which extends about a league every way; it is probably the plain called Rarion, where they say the first corn was sowed; there is a long hill, which divides the plain, extending to the east within a mile of the sea, and on the south side is not half a mile from it: at the east end of this hill the ancient Eleusis was situated. About a mile before we came to it, I saw the ruins of a small temple to the east, which might be that which was built at the threshing-floor of Triptolemus.

"In the plain, near the north foot of the hill, are many pieces of stones and pillars, which probably are the remains of the temple of Diana Propylæa, which was before the gates of the city; and at the north foot of the hill, on an advanced ground, there are many imperfect ruins, pieces of pillars, and entablatures, and doubtless it is the spot of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine," &c.—*Pococke*, ii. 170.

86 *Temple of Argos.*]—This Argos was the son of Jupiter and Niobe daughter of Phoronea; he had given his name to Argos, and the territory he possessed. He had no temple, and perhaps not even a chapel; Pausanias speaks only of his monument, which doubtless stood in the wood consecrated to him.

This Argos was very different from him surnamed Panoptes, who had eyes in every part of his body; this was the son of Agenor, and great-grandson of him of whom we speak. —*Larcher.*

not only put them to the sword, but had impiously set fire to the sacred wood.

LXXVI. Cleomenes, upon consulting the Delphic oracle, had been told that he should certainly become master of Argos: he accordingly led a body of Spartans to the river Erasinus[87], which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake. This lake is believed to shew itself a second time in the territories of Argos, after disappearing for some time in an immense gulph; it is then called by the Argives, Erasinus. Arriving at this river, Cleomenes offered sacrifices to it; the entrails of the victim gave him no encouragement to pass the stream[88], from which incident he affected to praise the river god for his attachment to his countrymen; but, nevertheless, vowed that the Argives should have no occasion to rejoice. From hence he advanced to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the ocean[89]; and embarking his forces, proceeded to Tirynthia, and Nauplia.

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87 *Erasinus.*]—According to Strabo there was another river of this name; the one here mentioned is now called Rasino, and was called by Ovid "ingens Erasinus."

Redditur Argolicis ingens Erasinus in agris. *T.*

88 *No encouragement to pass the stream.*]—In Lucan, when Cæsar arrived on the banks of the Rubicon, the genius of his country is represented as appearing to him, in order to dissuade him from his purpose.—The whole description is admirably beautiful.

89 *A bull to the ocean.*]—A bull was the usual victim to the

LXXVII. The Argives, hearing of this, advanced to the sea to repel him: as soon as they came to Tirynthe[90], at a place called Sipia, they encamped in the Lacedæmonian territory, at no great distance from the enemy. They were not so much afraid of meeting their adversaries openly in the field, as of falling into an ambuscade: of this indeed they had been forewarned by the Pythian, in the declaration made jointly to the Milesians and themselves:

When[91] female hands the strength of man shall tame,
And among Argives gain a glorious name,

Dii Magni. Horace represents one as sacrificed to Pluto; Virgil to Neptune and Apollo; Homer to the sea, and to rivers. Bacchus was sometimes worshipped with the head of a bull; and I have before observed, that the bull sacrificed to the Ægyptian Typhon gave occasion to the golden calf of the Israelites.—*T.*

90 *Tirynthe.*]—From this place Hercules was sometimes called Tirynthius. It is written by Hesychius, Tiryntha, and by Hoffman, Tyrinths.

91 *When.*]—The first part of this oracle is explained by what Pausanias and Plutarch, with little variation from each other, relate. The Argive women, taking arms under the conduct of Teterilla, repelled the attempts of Cleomenes on their city, with the loss of numbers of his men.—Plutarch, after relating the above, adds some circumstances so very whimsical, that I may well be excused for inserting them. "Some assert," says Plutarch, "that the above feat of the women was performed on the fourth of the month called Hermæus, when to this day they celebrate the feast called Hybristica, when the women are clothed in the coats and breeches of

Women of Argos shall much grief display,
And thus shall one in future ages say:
"A serpent huge, which wreath'd its body round,
"From a keen sword receiv'd a mortal wound."

These incidents filled the Argives with the greatest terror; they accordingly resolved to regulate their motions by the herald of the adverse army: as often, therefore, as this officer communicated any public order to the Lacedæmonians, they did the same.

LXXVIII. Cleomenes taking notice that the Argives observed what the herald of his army announced, directed that when the signal should be given for his soldiers to dine, they should immediately take their arms and attack the Argives*. The Lacedæmonians upon this gave the signal for dinner, the Argives did the same; but whilst they were engaged in eating, the enemy rushed

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men, and the men in the veils and petticoats of women." He proceeds to say, that the women, to repair the want of men, having many of them lost their husbands, did not marry their servants, but first admitted the best of their neighbours to the rights of citizens, and afterwards married them. But on their reproaching and insulting these husbands, a law passed that new-married women, when they lay for the first time with their husbands, should wear beards.—*T.*

* See this stratagem related more at length by Polyænus, b. i. c. 14.

upon them, slew a prodigious number, and surrounded many others, who, escaping from the field, took refuge in the grove of Argos.

LXXIX. Whilst they remained here, Cleomenes determined on the following measure:—By means of some deserters, he learned the names of all those Argives who had escaped to this grove; these he called out one by one, telling them that he had received their ransom: this, in the Peloponnese, is a fixed sum, and is settled at two minæ for each captive. The number of the Argives was fifty, whom, as they respectively came out, when called, Cleomenes put to death. This incident was unknown to those who remained in the asylum, the thickness of the wood not allowing them to see what passed. Till at length one climbing a tree, saw the transaction, after which no one appeared when called.

LXXX. Cleomenes then ordered his Helots to encompass the wood with materials for the purpose; and they obeying him, it was set on fire[92].

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92 *Set on fire.*]—Mr. Mason, in his admirable tragedy of Caractacus, has made an excellent use of the supposed sanctity of the groves at Mona. The circumstance of Cleomenes setting fire to the sacred grove of Argos, bears in many instances a resemblance to the burning of the groves of the Druids, by Aulus Didius, the Roman leader.

Whilst it was burning, Cleomenes desired to know of one of the fugitives, to what divinity that grove was sacred. He replied, to Argos. At this the Lacedæmonian in great agitation exclaimed—"O Apollo, thy prediction has misled me, promising that I should become master of Argos. "Thy oracle has, I fear, no other termination."

LXXXI. Cleomenes afterwards permitted the greater part of his forces to return to Sparta; and reserving only a select body of a thousand men, he went to offer sacrifice at the temple of Juno. Wishing to perform the ceremonies himself on the altar, the priest forbade him, saying, it was a privilege granted to no foreigner. Upon this, he ordered the Helots to drag the priest from the altar[93], and beat him. He then sacrificed, and afterwards returned to Sparta.

Caractacus.—Smile, my lov'd child, and imitate the sun
That rises ruddy from behind yon oaks,
To hail your brother victor.

Chorus. That the sun!
Oh horrour, horrour! Sacrilegious fires
Devour our groves: they blaze, they blaze—Oh, sound
The trump again, &c. *T.*

93 *Drag the priest from the altar.*]—A similar act of violence is recorded by Plutarch of Alexander the Great. Wishing to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the success of his designs against Persia, he happened to go there at a time which was deemed inauspicious, and the Pythian re-

LXXXII. On his return, he was accused before the Ephori [94] of bribery, and of neglecting the opportunity he had of taking Argos. Whether the reply which Cleomenes made was true or false, I am not able to determine: he observed, that having taken possession of the temple of Argos, the prediction of the oracle seemed to him finally completed. He concluded therefore, that he ought not to make any further attempts upon the city, till he should first be satisfied from his sacrifices, whether the deity would assist or oppose him. When he was performing the sacred rites auspiciously in the temple of Juno, a flame of fire [95] burst from the bosom of the sacred

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fused to do her office. Alexander on this went to her himself, and by personal violence dragged her to the temple: fatigued with her exertions against him, she at length exclaimed, "My son, you are invincible." The Macedonian prince expressed himself perfectly satisfied with her answer, and assured his soldiers that it was unnecessary to consult the deity any more.—*T.*

94 *Ephori.*]—The reader will remember that it was the particular office of the Ephori to watch the conduct of the Spartan kings.—*T.*

95 *Flame of fire.*]—The appearance of fire self-kindled was generally deemed amongst the ancients an auspicious omen; but, like all other prodigies and modes of divination, they varied their conclusions concerning it according to the different circumstances and places in which it appeared. According to Pliny, Amphiaraus was the first inventor of divination by fire.

Aruspicium Delphus invenit, ignispicia Amphiaraus, aus-

image, which entirely convinced him that he should not take Argos. If this flame had issued from the head, he should have taken the place by storm, but its coming from the breast, decisively declared that all the purposes of the deity were accomplished. His defence appeared plausible and satisfactory to his countrymen, and he was acquitted by a great majority.

LXXXIII. Argos however was deprived of so many of its citizens, that the slaves usurped the management of affairs, and executed the offices of government: but when the sons of those who had been slain, grew up, they obtained possession of the city, and after some contest expelled the slaves, who retired to Tirynthe, which they seized. They for a time forbore to molest each other, till Cleander, a soothsayer and an Arcadian, of the district of Phigasis, coming among them, he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. A tedious war followed, in which the Argives were finally, though with difficulty, victorious.

LXXXIV. The Argives affirm, that on ac-

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picia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum et somniorum Amphictyon.

Delphus was the inventor of divination by the entrails of beasts, Amphiaraus of that by fire, Tiresias the Theban of that of birds, and Amphictyon of the interpretation of prodigies and dreams.—*T.*

count of the things above mentioned, Cleomenes lost his reason, and came to a miserable end. The Spartans, on the contrary, will not allow his madness to have been occasioned by any divine interposition; they say, that by communicating with the Scythians[96], he became a drinker

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96 *Communicating with the Scythians.*]—See this story referred to in Athenæus, book x. c. 7; from whence we learn that επισκυθισαι, or to imitate the Scythians, became proverbial for intemperate drinking. A curious fragment is there also preserved from Achæus.

Μων αχελωος ην κεκραμενος πολυς,
Αλλ ουδε ληξαι τουδε τω γενει θεμις
Καλως μεν ουν αγειν σκυθιστι πιειν.

See also the Adagia of Erasmus, upon the word Episcythizare. Hard drinking was in like manner characteristic of the Thracians.—See Horace:

Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis
Pugnare, Thracum est: tollite barbarum
Morem; verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis. *L.* i. 27.

Again, the same author,

Non ego sanius
Bacchabor Edonis. *L.* ii. 7.

Upon the word Scyphis, in the first quotation, it may not be improper to remark, that Athenæus doubts whether the word σκυφος, scyphus, a bowl, quasi σκυθος, scythus, be not derived à Scythis.—The effect of intemperate drinking is well described in the Solomon of Prior;

I drank, I lik'd it not—'twas rage, 'twas noise,
An airy scene of transitory joys:

In

of wine, and that this made him mad. The Scythian Nomades, after the invasion of their country by Darius, determined on revenge: with this view they sent ambassadors to form an alliance with the Spartans. It was accordingly agreed, that the Scythians should invade the country of the Medes, by the side of the Phasis: the Spartans, advancing[97] from Ephesus, were to do the same, till the two armies formed a junction. With the Scythians sent on this business, Cleomenes is said to have formed too great an intimacy, and thence to have contracted a habit of drinking, which injured the faculties of his mind. From which incident, whoever are

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In vain I trusted that the flowing bowl
Would banish sorrow, and enlarge the soul.
To the late revel and protracted feast
Wild dreams succeeded, and disorder'd rest.
* * * * *
Add yet unnumber'd ills, that lie unseen
In the pernicious draught; the word obscene
Or harsh, which, once elanc'd, must ever fly
Irrevocable; the too prompt reply,
Seed of severe distrust, and fierce debate,
What we should shun, and what we ought to hate.—*T.*

97 *Advancing.*]—The word in Greek is *αναβαινειν*; and Larcher remarks, that this word is used in almost all the historians, for to advance from the sea, and that therefore the retreat of the ten thousand was called by Xenophon the *Αναβασις*. The illustration is, however, rather unfortunate, as the return of Xenophon was not from the sea, but from Cunaxa, an inland place on the Euphrates, *to* the sea at Trapezus, &c.—*T.*

desirous to drink intemperately, are said to exclaim Episcythison, "Let us drink like Scythians." —Such is the Spartan account of Cleomenes. To me, however, he seems to have been an object of the divine vengeance on account of Demaratus.

LXXXV. The people of Ægina no sooner received intelligence of his death, than they dispatched emissaries to Sparta, to complain of Leutychides, for detaining their hostages at Athens. The Lacedæmonians, after a public consultation, were of opinion that Leutychides had greatly injured the inhabitants of Ægina; and they determined that he should be given up to them, and be carried to Ægina, instead of such of their countrymen as were detained at Athens. They were about to lead him away, when Theasides, son of Leopropis, a Spartan of approved worth, thus addressed them: "Men of Ægina, "what would you do? would you take away a "Spartan prince, whom his countrymen have "given up? Although the Spartans have in "anger come to this resolution, do ye not fear "that they will one day, if you persist in your "purpose, utterly destroy your country?" This expostulation induced the Æginetæ to change their first intentions: they nevertheless insisted that Leutychides should accompany them to Athens, and set their countrymen at liberty.

LXXXVI. When Leutychides arrived at Athens, and claimed the hostages, the Athenians, who were unwilling to give them up, demurred.—They said, that as the two kings had jointly confided these men to their care, it would be unfair to give them up to one of them. Upon their final refusal to surrender them, Leutychides thus addressed them: "In this business, Athe-
"nians, you will do what you please; if you
"give up these men, you will act justly, if you
"do not, you will be dishonest. I am desirous
"however to relate to you what once happened
"in Sparta upon a similar occasion. We have
"a tradition among us, that about three ages
"ago there lived in Lacedæmon a man named
"Glaucus, the son of Epicydes; he was famous
"among his countrymen for many excellent qua-
"lities, and in particular for his integrity. We
"are told, that in process of time a Milesian
"came to Sparta, purposely to solicit this man's
"advice. 'I am come,' said he, addressing
"him, 'from Miletus, to be benefited by your
"justice, the reputation of which, circulating
"through Greece, has arrived at Ionia. I have
"compared the insecure condition of Ionia with
"the undisturbed tranquillity of the Peloponnese; and observing that the wealth of my
"countrymen is constantly fluctuating, I have
"been induced to adopt this measure: I have
"converted half of my property into money,

" which, from the confidence of its being per-
" fectly secure, I propose to deposit in your
" hands; take it therefore, and with it these
" private marks; you will return it to the per-
" son who shall convince you that he knows
" them.' The Milesian here finished, and Glau-
" cus accepted his money upon these conditions.
" After a long interval of time, the sons of the
" above Milesian came to Sparta, and present-
" ing themselves before Glaucus produced the
" test agreed upon, and claimed the money.
" He however rejected the application with an-
" ger, and assured them that he remembered
" nothing of the matter. ' If,' says he, ' I
" should hereafter be able to recollect the cir-
" cumstance you mention, I will certainly do
" you justice, and restore that which you say
" I have received. If, on the contrary, your
" claim has no foundation, I shall avail myself
" of the laws of Greece against you; I there-
" fore invite you to return to me again, after
" a period of four months.' The Milesians
" accordingly departed in sorrow, considering
" themselves as cheated of their money: Glau-
" cus, on the other hand, went to consult the
" oracle at Delphi. On his enquiring whether
" he might absolve himself from returning the
" money by an oath, the priestess made him this
" reply:

" Glaucus[98], thus much by swearing you may gain,
" Thro' life the gold you safely may retain:

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[98] *Glaucus, son of Epicydes.*]—The words of this oracle, as has been observed by many writers, and in particular by Grotius, may well be compared to a passage in Zechariah, ch. v. ver. 1—4.

"I looked, and behold a flying roll.—Then said he unto me, This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name: and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof."

The story of Glaucus is also well introduced by Juvenal, Sat. xiii.

Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
Depositum retinere et fraudem jure tuere
Jurando. Quærebat enim quæ numinis esset
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.
Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus, et tamen omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo, veramque probavit
Exstinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
Et quàmvis longa deductis gente propinquis
Has petitur pœnas peccandi sola voluntas.

See also Jortin's Discourses on the Christian Religion.

"Josephus says, that Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was dying, confessed that he suffered for the injuries which he had done to the Jews. Then he adds, I wonder how Polybius could say that Antiochus perished because he had purposed to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia; *for to intend the thing only, and not perform it, is not worthy of punishment.*—Το γαρ μην ποιησαι το εργον βουλευσαμενον ουκ εστι τιμωριας αξιον.' How

" Swear then—rememb'ring that the awful grave
" Confounds alike the honest man and knave;
" But still an oath a nameless offspring bears,
" Which tho' no feet it has, no arm uprears,
" Swiftly the perjur'd villain will o'ertake,
" And of his race entire destruction make;
" Whilst their descendants, who their oath regard,
" Fortune ne'er fails to favour and reward.

How contrary to this sentiment of Josephus is the positive declaration of Jesus Christ!

" But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

I cannot properly omit relating in this place a story from Stobæus, somewhat of a similar nature with this before us.—Larcher has done the same.

Archetimus of Erythræa, in Ionia, deposited at Tenedos, in the hands of his friend Cydias, a considerable sum of money. Having demanded it to be returned, the other denied that he had it; and as the dispute grew warm, it was agreed that in three days he should purge himself by an oath. This time was employed by Cydias in making a hollow cane, in which he placed the gold of Archetimus; and, the better to conceal his fraud, he covered the handle of it with a thick bandage of linen. On the appointed day he left his house, resting on this cane, as if indisposed; and arriving at the temple, he placed the cane in the hands of Archetimus, whilst he elevated his own, and swore that he had returned to him the deposit confided to him. Archetimus in anger dashed the cane on the ground: it broke in pieces, the gold fell out, and exposed to the eyes of the spectators the perfidy of Cydias, who died prematurely.—*T.*

"On this reply, Glaucus entreated the deity to "forgive him; but he was told by the priestess, "that the intention and the action were alike "criminal. Glaucus then sent for the Milesians, "and restored the money.—My motive, O Athe- "nians, for making you this relation, remains to "be told. At the present day no descendant "of Glaucus, nor any traces of his family, "are to be found; they are utterly extirpated "from Sparta. Wherever therefore a trust has "been reposed, it is an act of wisdom to restore "it when demanded."—Leutychides, finding that what he said made no impression upon the Athenians, left the place.

LXXXVII. Before the Æginetæ had suffered for the insults formerly offered to the Athenians, with the intention of gratifying the Thebans, they had perpetrated the following act of violence:—Exasperated against the Athenians for some imagined injury, they prepared to revenge themselves. The Athenians had a quinquireme stationed at Sunium; of this vessel, which was the Theoris[99], and full of the most illustrious Athe-

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99 *The Theoris.*]—This was a vessel which was every year sent to Delos to offer a sacrifice to Apollo, in consequence of a vow which Theseus had made at his departure for Crete. As soon as the festival celebrated on this occasion was begun, they purified the place, and it was an inviolable law to put no person to death till this vessel should be returned;

nians, they by some artifice obtained possession, and put all whom they found in her in irons. The Athenians instantly meditated the severest vengeance.

LXXXVIII. There was at Ægina a man greatly esteemed, the son of Cnœthus, his name Nicodromus. From some disgust against his countrymen, he had some time before left the island: hearing that the Athenians were determined on the ruin of Ægina, he agreed with them on certain conditions to deliver it into their hands. He appointed a particular day for the execution of his measures, when they also were to be ready to assist him. He proceeded in his

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and it was sometimes a great while on its passage, particularly when the wind was contrary. The festival called Theoria commences when the priest of Apollo has crowned the prow of the vessel. Theoros was the name of the person sent to offer sacrifice to some god, or consult an oracle; it was given to distinguish such persons from those charged with commissions on civil affairs, who were called Πρεσβεις. —*Larcher.*

See a very poetical description of the arrival of a Theoris at Delos, in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vi. 417, 418.

" On appercevoit dans l'eloignement la Theorie des Atheniens. Telles que les filles de Nerée, lorsqu'elles suivent sur les flots le char de la souveraine des mers, une foule de batimens legers se jouoient autour de la galere sacrée. Leurs voiles, plus eclatantes que la neige, brilloient comme les cygnes qui agitent leurs ailes sur les eaux du Caistre et du Meandre," &c.

purpose, and made himself master of what is called the Old City.

LXXXIX. The Athenians were not punctual to their engagement; they were not prepared with a fleet able to contend with that of Ægina: and in the interval of their applying to the Corinthians for a reinforcement of ships, the favourable opportunity was lost. The Corinthians, being at that time on very friendly terms with the Athenians, furnished them, at their request, with twenty ships[100]: as their laws forbade them to give these ships, they sold them to their allies for five drachmæ each. With these, which in addition to their own, made a fleet of seventy ships, the Athenians sailed to Ægina, where however they did not arrive till a day after the time appointed.

XC. The Athenians not appearing as had been stipulated, Nicodromus, accompanied by many of the Æginetæ, fled in a vessel from Ægina. The Athenians assigned Sunium for their residence, from whence they occasionally issued to harass and plunder the people of Ægina; but these things happened afterwards.

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100 *With twenty ships.*]—The Corinthians reproached the Athenians with this act of kindness, when they afterward discovered an inclination to assist the Corcyreans.—See *Thucydides*, l. i. c. 41.—*Larcher.*

XCI. The principal citizens of Ægina having overpowered such of the common people as had taken the part of Nicodromus against them, they proceeded to put their prisoners to death. On this occasion they committed an act of impiety, to atone for which all their earnest endeavours were unavailing; and before they could conciliate the goddess, they were driven from the island. As they were conducting to execution seven hundred of the common people, whom they had taken alive, one of them escaping from his chains, fled to the vestibule of the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros, and seizing the hinges of the door, held them fast: unable to make him quit his hold, they cut off his hands [101], and dragged him away. His hands remained adhering to the valves of the door.

XCII. After the Æginetæ had thus punished their domestic enemies, the seventy vessels of the Athenians appeared, whom they engaged, and were conquered. In consequence of their defeat they applied a second time to the Argives for assistance, which was refused, and for this reason: they complained that the ships of the Æginetæ which Cleomenes had violently seized, had, in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, made a descent upon their coast; to which act of violence

[101] *Cut off his hands.*]—See *Hume's Essays*, vol. ii. 462.

some Sicyonian vessels had also contributed. For this the Argives had demanded, by way of compensation, a thousand talents, of which each nation was to pay five hundred. The Sicyonians apologized for their misconduct, and paying one hundred talents were excused the rest. The Æginetæ were too proud to make any concessions. The Argives therefore refused any public countenance to their application for assistance, but a body of about a thousand volunteers went over to them, under the conduct of Eurybates, a man very skilful in the contests of the Pentathlon. The greater part of these returned no more, but were slain by the Athenians at Ægina. Eurybates their leader, victorious in three different single combats, was killed in the fourth, by Sophanes, a Decelian.

XCIII. The Æginetæ, taking advantage of some confusion on the part of the Athenians, attacked their fleet, and obtained a victory, taking four of their ships, with all their crews.

XCIV. Whilst these two nations were thus engaged in hostilities, the domestic of the Persian monarch continued regularly to bid him "Re-"member the Athenians[102]," which incident was

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102 *Remember the Athenians.*]—This incident will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader what is related of the

farther enforced by the unremitting endeavours of the Pisistratidæ to criminate that people. The king himself was very glad of this pretext, effectually to reduce such of the Grecian states as had refused him "earth and water." He accordingly removed Mardonius from his command, who had been unsuccessful in his naval undertakings; he appointed two other officers to commence an expedition against Eretria and Athens; these were Datis[103], a native of Media, and Artaphernes his nephew, who were commanded totally to subdue both the above places, and to bring the inhabitants captive before him.

XCV. These commanders, as soon as they

Macedonian Philip; who to prevent pride and insolence taking too entire a possession of his heart, from his victories and great prosperity, enjoined a domestic every morning to exclaim to him, "Remember, Philip, thou art a man." The word "Remember" was the last word pronounced by Charles the First to Dr. Juxon on the scaffold. Dr. Juxon gave a plausible answer to the ministers of Cromwell, who interrogated him on the subject; but many are still of opinion, that it involved some mystery never known but by the individuals to whom it immediately related.—*T.*

[103] *Datis.*]—This officer, in the exultation which attended his first successes, exclaimed, ὡς ἡδομαι, και τερπομαι, και χαιρομαι. Χαιρομαι is a barbarism, for the Greeks always say χαιρω. This kind of barbarisms were afterward called Datisms. See the Peace of Aristophanes, verse 290; and the observation of the Scholiast on 288.—*Larcher.*

had received their appointment advanced to Aleium * in Cilicia, with a large and well-provided body of infantry. Here, as soon as they encamped, they were joined by a numerous reinforcement of marines, agreeably to the orders which had been given. Not long afterward, those vessels arrived to take the cavalry on board, which in the preceding year Darius had commanded his tributaries to supply. The horse and foot immediately embarked, and proceeded to Ionia, in a fleet of six hundred triremes. They did not, keeping along the coast, advance in a right line to Thrace and the Hellespont, but loosing from Samos, they passed through the midst of the islands and the Icarian sea [104], fearing, as I should suppose, to double the promontory of Athos, by which they had in a former year severely suffered. They were farther induced to this course by the island of Naxos †, which before they had omitted to take.

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* Aleium, or Aleian, a plain in Cilicia.—This was at the mouth of the river Pyramus, and near the port of Mallos, at which port probably the army embarked.

[104] *Icarian sea.*]—The story of Dædalus and Icarus, and that the Icarian sea was so named from its being the supposed grave of Icarus, must be sufficiently notorious:

Icarus Icariis nomina fecit aquis.—*Ovid.* *T.*

† It would have been more direct to have proceeded immediately to Naxos, but probably, says Larcher, they intended to repose themselves at Samos, after the fatigues of so long a voyage.

XCVI. Proceeding therefore from the Icarian sea to this island, which was the first object of their enterprize, they met with no resistance. The Naxians, remembering their former calamities, fled in alarm to the mountains. Those taken captive were made slaves, the sacred buildings and the city were burned. This done, the Persians sailed to the other islands.

XCVII. At this juncture the inhabitants of Delos deserted their island and fled to Tenos. The Persian fleet was directing its course to Delos, when Datis, hastening to the van, obliged them to station themselves at Rhenea, which lies beyond it. As soon as he learned to what place the Delians had retired, he sent a herald to them with this message:—"Why, oh sacred people, "do you fly, thinking so injuriously of me? If "I had not received particular directions from "the king my master to this effect, I, of my own "accord, would never have molested you, nor "offered violence[105] to a place in which two

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[105] *Offered violence.*]—On this subject, from the joint authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Callimachus, the Abbé Barthelemy expresses himself thus:—

"Les fureurs des barbares, les haines des nations, les inimitiés particulières tombent à l'aspect de cette terre sacrée. —Les coursiers de Mars ne la foulent jamais de leurs pieds ensanglantes.—Tout ce que présente l'image de la guerre en

" deities[106] were born. Return, therefore, and " inhabit your island as before." Having sent this message, he offered upon one of their altars incense to the amount of three hundred talents.

XCVIII. After this measure, Datis led his whole army against Eretria, taking with him the Ionians and Æolians. The Delians say, that at the moment of his departure the island of Delos was affected by a tremulous motion[107], a circumstance which, as the Delians affirm, never happened before or since. The deity, as it should seem by this prodigy, forewarned mankind[108] of

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est sevèrement banni: on n'y souffre pas même l'animal le plus fidèle à l'homme, parce qu'il y détruiroit des animaux plus foibles et plus timides; enfin la paix a choisi Delos pour son séjour," &c.—Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. According to Strabo, it was not permitted to have dogs at Delos, because they destroyed hares and rabbits.

[106] *Two deities.*]—Apollo and Diana.

[107] *Tremulous motion.*]—Thucydides relates that this island was affected by an earthquake at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, but that in the memory of man this had never happened before. Larcher is of opinion that Herodotus and Thucydides may speak of the same fact. Wesseling thinks the same.—*T.*

[108] *Forewarned mankind.*]—See the beautiful use which Virgil in his first Georgic has made of the credulity of mankind with respect to prognostics; and in particular his episode on those supposed to precede the death of Julius Cæsar:

Sol tibi signa dabit. Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat, &c. 464, &c.

See

the evils which were about to happen. Greece certainly suffered more and greater calamities during the reigns of Darius son of Hystaspes, Xerxes son of Darius, and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, than in all the preceding twenty generations; these calamities arose partly from the Persians, and partly from the contentions for power among its own great men. It was not therefore without reason that Delos, immoveable before, should then be shaken, which event indeed had been predicted by the oracle:

"Although Delos be immoveable, I will shake it."

It is also worth observation, that, translated into the Greek tongue*, Darius signifies one who compels, Xerxes a warrior, Artaxerxes a great warrior; and thus they would call them if they used the corresponding terms.

See also the prodigies described by Lucan, as preceding the battle of Pharsalia.

Tum ne qua futuri
Spes saltem trepidas mentes levet, addita fati
Pejoris manifesta fides, superique minaces
Prodigiis terras implerunt, æthera, pontum, &c. *T.*

* *Into the Greek tongue.*]—The original says, "these names in the *Greek* tongue mean," &c. which seems to imply that the words are themselves significant in Greek, which is not the case; it should surely be "in the Persian tongue," κατα Περσιδα γλωσσαν, otherwise the expression is incorrect, and the remainder of the sentence tautological, and indeed nonsensical.—Hyde, Bochart, and others, have treated of these terms of the old Persic.

XCIX. The barbarians, sailing from Delos to the other islands, took on board reinforcements from them all, together with children of the inhabitants, as hostages. Cruising round the different islands, they arrived off Carystos[109]; but the people of this place positively refused either to give hostages, or to serve against their neighbours, Athens and Eretria. They were consequently besieged, and their lands wasted; and they were finally compelled to surrender themselves to the Persians.

C. The Eretrians, on the approach of the Persian army, applied to the Athenians for assistance; this the Athenians did not think proper to withhold, they accordingly sent them the four thousand men to whom those lands had been assigned which formerly belonged to the Chalcidian cavalry; but the Eretrians, notwithstanding their application to the Athenians, were far from being firm and determined. They were so divided in their resolutions, that whilst some of them advised the city to be deserted, and a retreat made to the rocks of Eubœa[110], others, expect-

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[109] *Carystos.*]—This place is now called Caristo, and is one of the Cyclades. It was anciently famous for its variegated marble.—*T.*

[110] *Rocks of Eubaa.*]—These are what Virgil calls

Euboicæ cautes ultorque Caphareus

ing a reward from the Persians, prepared to betray their country[111]. Æschines, the son of Nothon,

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Heyne's observation on this passage of Virgil is sufficiently explicit and satisfactory.—" Promontorium Eubœæ versus orientem O Καφηρευς propter latentia sub undâ saxa et vortices marisque æstum, imprimis naufragia Græcorum a Troja redeuntium infame."

His explanation of the word *ultor* is not so. *Ultor*, says he, is only added as an ornament, to denote that the rock was destructive, tanquam calamitosum saxum. Servius explains it by the story of Nauplius, who, incensed at the Greeks for the loss of his son Palamedes (who was put to death by the stratagems of Ulysses) made this rock the instrument of his vengeance. He placed a light upon it, which in the evening deluding their fleet, caused the shipwreck of numbers of their vessels.—See Propertius:

Nauplius *ultores* sub noctem porrigit ignes
Et natat exuviis Græcia pressa suis.

This, however, is not quite right, for the context plainly shows that the revenge of Minerva against Ajax Oileus was present to the poet's mind when he wrote the epithet *ultor*; the remark of Heyne is therefore absurd. The following passage from Ovid is as complete a comment on this of Virgil, as if it had been written on purpose:

——Postquam alta cremata est
Ilion; et Danaas paverunt Pergama flammas;
Naryciusque Heros, a virgine, virgine raptâ,
Quam meruit solus pœnam digessit in omnes;
Spargimur, et ventis inimica per æquora rapti
Fulmina, noctem, imbres, iram cœlique marisque
Perpetimur Danai, *cumulumque Capharea cladis.*
Met. xiv. 466.

If the inhabitants of Carystus had retired, says Larcher, to this place, they would have had little to apprehend from the Persians, whose fleet durst not have attacked them amongst rocks so very dangerous.—*T.*

111 *Betray their country.*]—Gorgylus, the only Eretrian who

an Eretrian of the highest rank, observing these different sentiments, informed the Athenians of the state of affairs, advising them to return home, lest they should be involved in the common ruin. The Athenians attended to this advice of Æschines, and by passing over to Oropus, escaped the impending danger.

CI. The Persians arriving at Eretria, came near Temenos[112], Chæreas, and Ægilia; making themselves masters of these places, they disembarked the horse, and prepared to attack the enemy. The Eretrians did not think proper to advance and engage them; the opinion for defending the city had prevailed, and their whole attention was occupied in preparing for a siege. The Persians endeavoured to storm the place, and a contest of six days was attended with very considerable loss on both sides. On the seventh, the city was betrayed to the enemy by two of the more eminent citizens, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus, and Phi-

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had taken part with the Persians, as Xenophon affirms, had for his reward the cities of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynia. Gorgion and Gorgylus, his descendants, were in possession of them in the 95th Olympiad, when Thymbron, a Lacedæmonian general, passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher.*

[112] *Near Temenos.*]—The Greek is κατα τεμενος; if this had signified a temple, it would have been κατα το τεμενος. See the notes of Wesseling and Valcnaer.—*T.*

lagrus son of Cyneas. As soon as the Persians got possession of the place, they pillaged and burned the temples to avenge the burning of their own temples at Sardis. The people, according to the orders of Darius, were made slaves[113].

CII. After this victory at Eretria, the Persians staid a few days, and then sailed to Attica, driving all before them, and thinking to treat the Athenians as they had done the Eretrians. There was a place in Attica called Marathon, not far from Eretria, well adapted for the motions of cavalry: to this place therefore they were conducted by Hippias, son of Pisistratus.

CIII. As soon as the Athenians heard this, they advanced to the same spot, under the conduct of ten leaders, with the view of repelling force by force. The last of these was Miltiades. His father Cimon, son of Stesagoras, had been

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113 *Were made slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless those made captive in war. By the injunction of Darius, so often repeated in Herodotus, and, as we perceive, so strictly enforced, we may understand that the Greeks here taken captive were obliged, in menial occupations, to wait on the persons of their conquerors. Darius in general treated his captives with extraordinary lenity; it was only against the Greeks, who had in a particular manner provoked his indignation, that we find him thus particular in his severity to those taken prisoners.—*T.*

formerly driven from Athens by the influence of Pisistratus[114], son of Hippocrates. During his exile, he had obtained the prize at the Olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horses. This honour, however, he transferred[115] to Miltiades his uterine brother. At the Olympic games which next followed, he was again victorious, and with the same mares. This honour he suffered to be assigned to Pisistratus, on condition of his being recalled; a reconciliation ensued, and he was permitted to return. Being victo-

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[114] *Pisistratus.*]—I have in different places related many anecdotes of this Pisistratus; I have one now before me in Ælian, which ought not to be omitted. If he met any person who seemed to be idle, he asked him why he was unemployed: If, he would say, your oxen are dead, take mine, and go to your usual business in the field; if you want seed, take some of mine. This he did, says Ælian, lest the idleness of these people should prompt them to raise seditious plots against him.—*T.*

[115] *He transferred.*]—This thing we find it was a frequent practice to do. From Pausanias we learn a singular fact; that they who obtained the prize at wrestling, being unable to substitute any person in their room, were accustomed to take bribes to declare themselves natives of places to which they did not belong. The same author informs us, that Dionysius the tyrant frequently sent agents to Olympia, to bribe the conquerors to declare themselves natives of Syracuse. It is proper to add, that they who were mean enough thus to sacrifice the glory of their country to their avarice, or perhaps, as it might occasionally happen, their pride, were subject to the punishment of exile from those cities to which they did really belong.—*T.*

rious a third time, on the same occasion, and with the same mares, he was put to death by the sons of Pisistratus, Pisistratus himself being then dead. He was assassinated in the night, near Prytaneum, by some villains sent for the purpose: he was buried in the approach to the city, near the hollow way; and in the same spot were interred the mares[116] which had three times obtained the prize at the Olympic games. If we except the mares of Evagoras of Sparta, no other ever obtained a similar honour. At this period, Stesagoras, the eldest son of Cimon, resided in the Chersonese with his uncle Miltiades; the youngest was brought up at Athens under Cimon himself, and named Miltiades, from the founder of the Chersonese.

CIV. This Miltiades, the Athenian leader, in advancing from the Chersonese, escaped from two incidents which alike threatened his life: he was pursued as far as Imbros by the Phœnicians, who were exceedingly desirous to take him alive, and present him to the king; on his return home, where he thought himself secure, his enemies accused, and brought him to a public trial, under

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116 *Interred the mares.*]—See this fact mentioned by Ælian in his History of Animals, l. xii. c. 40.: Where we are also told, that Evagoras, mentioned in the subsequent paragraph, in like manner buried his victorious horses.—*T.*

pretence of his aiming at the sovereignty of the Chersonese; from this also he escaped, and was afterward chosen a general of the Athenians by the suffrages of the people.

CV. The Athenian leaders, before they left the city, dispatched Phidippides[117] to Sparta: he was an Athenian by birth, and his daily employment was that of a courier *. To this Phidippides, as he himself affirmed, and related to the Athenians, the god Pan appeared on mount Parthenius[118], which is beyond Tegea. The deity called him by his name, and commanded him to ask the Athenians why they so entirely neglected him[119], who not only wished them well, but who had frequently rendered them service, and would

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117 *Phidippides.*]—This name is differently written, Phidippides and Philippides.

* Larcher translates this literally from the Greek, and calls Philippides " un Hemerodrome."

118 *Mount Parthenius.*]—This place was so named, quasi Virgineus, from the virgins who there offered sacrifice to Venus, or enjoyed the exercise of hunting. Pausanias, in his eighth book, speaks of a temple here erected to Pan, " in the very place," says he, " where the god appeared to Phidippides, and gave him some important advice."—*T.*

119 *Neglected him.*]—The note of Larcher on this passage seems a little remarkable: I therefore give it at length.

" Clemens of Alexandria says, that the Athenians did not even know Pan before Phidippides told them of his existence. With the respect due to a father of the church,

do so again. All this the Athenians believed, and as soon as the state of their affairs permitted, they erected a temple to Pan[120] near the citadel: ever since the above period, they venerate the god by annual sacrifices, and the race of torches[121].

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this reasoning does not to me seem just; because the Athenians had not yet instituted festivals in honour of Pan, it by no means follows that they knew nothing of him. The majority of feasts instituted in catholic countries, in honour of saints, are greatly posterior to the period of their deaths, and take their date, like those of Pan, among the Athenians, from "the time when their protection and its effects were for the first time experienced."

If this be not a sneer at the Romish saints, it is certainly very like one.—*T.*

It is but justice to Larcher to add, that in his second edition he has left out the latter part of the above note.

120 *To Pan.*]—This sacred building to Pan is mentioned by Pausanias, l. i. c. 28. After the battle of Marathon, they sung in honour of this deity a hymn, which is given by Athenæus, Deipnosoph. l. xv. c. 14, but more correctly by Brunck, in his Analecta. Brunck, however, and Wyttenbach, are both of opinion that this hymn alluded to a victory obtained by some poet at the Panathenæa.—See the remainder of Larcher's note on this passage.

121 *Race of torches.*]—The manner of this race was as follows:—A man with a torch in his hand ran from the altar of the god, in whose honour the race was celebrated, to some certain spot, without extinguishing his torch; if the torch went out he gave it to a second, and he to a third, if he met with the same accident; if the third was also unfortunate, the victory was adjudged to no one.

This feast was celebrated in honour of various deities, as

CVI. Phidippides, who was sent by the Athenian generals, and who related his having met with Pan, arrived at Sparta on the second day[122]

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of Minerva, Vulcan, Prometheus, Pan, Æsculapius, &c. In the Panathenæa, or feasts of Minerva, the Lampadophori ran from the Piræum; from the Ceramicus or academy, in those of Vulcan or Prometheus. There was in the academy a statue of Cupid, consecrated by Pisistratus, where they lighted the sacred torches in the courses instituted in honour of these gods. The same honour was rendered to Pan, as we learn from this passage in Herodotus, and in the manuscript lexicon of Photius.

To this custom various authors allude, and amongst others Lucretius:

> Augescunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuuntur,
> Inque brevi spatio mutantur sæcla animantum,
> Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.

I am of opinion that there is an allusion to this custom also in an epigram of Alcæus of Messina, preserved in Brunck:

> Beauty having a torch in his hand runs swiftly.
> Ἡ δε ὥρη λαμπαδ' ἐχουσα τρεχει. *Larcher.*

122 *On the second day.*]—Larcher, in his observation on this passage, corrects a mistake of Pliny the naturalist. "It was thought," says Pliny, "a great thing that Phidippides ran in two days 1140 stadia, that is to say, the distance betwixt Athens and Lacedæmon, till Lanisis (Larcher says, I know not on what authority, Anistis) and Philonides, who was a courier of Alexander the Great, ran in one day 1200 stadia, or the distance betwixt Sicyon and Elis." "Allowing," says Larcher, "for the windings of the road betwixt Sicyon and Elis, the distance is no more than 600 stadia of those which are eight to a mile, of which stadia there are 1140 betwixt Athens and Sparta. If Pliny in this

of his departure from Athens. He went immediately to the magistrates, and thus addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians supplicate your assistance, and entreat you not "to suffer the most ancient city of Greece to "fall into the hands of the Barbarians: Eretria "is already subdued, and Greece weakened by "the loss of that illustrious place." After the above speech of Phidippides, the Lacedæmonians resolved to assist the Athenians; but they were prevented from doing this immediately by the prejudice of an inveterate custom. This was the ninth day of the month, and it was a practice with them to undertake no enterprize before the moon was at the full[123]; for this, therefore, they waited.

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place meant to speak of the smaller stadium, he ought to have said so, because just above he spoke of the greater stadium, as the passage itself proves."

I may be allowed in this place to correct an error of Larcher, who misquotes the above passage from Pliny; he calls Anistis and Philonides *couriers d'Alexandre*, whereas the words of Pliny are, "donec Anistis cursor Lacedæmonius, & Philonides Alexandri Magni," that is, till Anistis a Lacedæmonian courier, and Philonides a courier of Alexander, &c. Pliny, it may be added, in the same chapter (book vii. c. 20.) speaks of people who in the circus could run 160 miles a day, and of a boy who betwixt noon and evening ran 75 miles.

[123] *Moon was at the full.*]—I will first give the reader what Plutarch, in his Essay on the Malignity of Herodotus, remarks on this passage, and afterward the observation of

CVII. In the night before Hippias conducted the Barbarians to the plains of Marathon, he

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Larcher, which seems to me at least a sufficient and satisfactory answer to the censure of Plutarch.

"Herodotus is also evidently convicted of reporting falsely of the Lacedæmonians, saying that waiting for the full moon they did not assist the Athenians at Marathon; but they not only made numberless military excursions at the beginning of the month, and without waiting for the full moon, but they wanted so very little of being present at this battle, which took place on the sixth day of the month Boedromion, that on their arrival they found the dead still lying in the field. Yet Herodotus has thus written concerning the full moon." Plutarch then adds the passage before us, after which he says, "Thou, O Herodotus, transferrest the full moon to the beginning of the month, when she is but yet in her first quarter, and at the same time confoundest the heavens, days, and all things."

"The Lacedæmonians," says Larcher, "did not commence a march before the full moon. This is confirmed by the evidence of Pausanias, b. i. c. 28. of Lucian, in his Tract on Astrology, c. 25, who imputes this regulation to Lycurgus, and of the author of the Tract on Rivers, printed amongst the works of Plutarch; of Hermogenes also, and others. In defiance of these authorities, Plutarch, not satisfied with denying the fact, asserts, that the battle of Marathon took place on the sixth of the month Boedromion, and that the Lacedæmonians, having arrived a short time after the battle, must consequently have begun their march before the full moon. But is it possible to believe that Plutarch, who lived six ages after that battle, should be better informed concerning its date than Herodotus, who often communicated with those who were there in person? Plutarch, who always represents Herodotus as a malignant wretch, still allows him the praise of ingenuity; but if he had been dull as any Bœotian, I much doubt whether

saw this vision: he thought that he lay with his mother[124]. The inference which he drew from this was, that he should again return to Athens, be restored to his authority, and die in his own house of old age: he was then executing the office of a general. The prisoners taken in Eretria he removed to Ægilea, an island belonging to the Styreans; the vessels which arrived at Marathon, he stationed in the port, and drew up the Barbarians in order as they disembarked. Whilst he was thus employed, he was seized with a fit of sneezing[125], attended with a very unusual

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he could have dared to advance a falsehood like this, concerning a matter so very recent, and of which there were still so many evidences, when he recited his history at the Olympic games."

[124] *Lay with his mother.*]—This was considered as a fortunate dream, for in a case like this a man's mother intimated his country. Cæsar had a similar dream, at which, although, as Larcher observes, he affected to disbelieve the immortality of the soul, he was rendered uneasy; but the interpreters of dreams, easily as we may suppose, revived his spirits, by assuring him that he should one day become the master of the world.

[125] *Sneezing.*]—The act of sneezing was considered as an auspicious omen, at least we find Penelope in the Odyssey welcoming it as such from Telemachus:

> She spoke—Telemachus then sneez'd aloud;
> Constrain'd, his nostrils echoed through the crowd;
> The smiling queen the happy omen bless'd;
> So may these impious fall by fate oppress'd.

Pliny says, that sneezing in the morning was unlucky, sneezing at noon fortunate; to sneeze to the right was lucky,

cough. The agitation into which he was thrown, being an old man, was so violent, that as his teeth were loose, one of them dropped out of his mouth upon the sand. Much pains were taken to find it, but in vain; upon which Hippias remarked with a sigh to those around him, "This coun- "try is not ours, nor shall we ever become "masters of it—my lost tooth possesses all that "belongs to me."

CVIII. Hippias conceived that he saw in the above incident, the accomplishment of his vision. In the mean time the Athenians, drawing themselves up in military order near the temple of Hercules, were joined by the whole force of the Plateans. The Athenians had formerly sub-

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to the left, and near a place of burial, the reverse. The Latins, when any one sneezed, "salvere jusserunt," or as we should say, cried, "save you;" which custom remains to the present period, but for which antiquarians account very differently; but it is generally believed to have arisen from some disease, with which those who were infected inevitably died. Aristotle's account seems as satisfactory as any other why it should be deemed auspicious: "It is," says he, "a motion of the brain, which through the nostrils expels what is offensive, and in some degree demonstrates internal strength." He adds, "that medical people, if they were able to provoke the act of sneezing from their patients, who might be thought dangerously indisposed, conceived hopes of their recovery."—*T.*

It is a pity that the ancients did not know the use o snuff; what vast fortunes might have been made, and what victories won!

mitted to many difficulties on account of the Plateans, who now, to return the obligation, gave themselves up to their direction. The occasion was this: the Plateans being oppressed by the Thebans, solicited the protection of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, and of such Lacedæmonians as were at hand; they disclaimed, however, any interference, for which they assigned this reason: "From us," said they, "situated at so great a distance, you can "expect but little assistance; for before we can "even receive intelligence of your danger, you "may be effectually reduced to servitude; we "would rather recommend you to apply to the "Athenians, who are not only near, but able to "protect you." The Lacedæmonians, in saying this, did not so much consider[126] the interest of the Plateans, as they were desirous of seeing the Athenians harassed by a Bœotian war. The

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[126] *Did not so much consider.*]—Plutarch, in his tract on the Malignity of Herodotus, speaks thus of this passage: "Herodotus representing this fact, adds, not as a matter of suspicion or opinion, but as a certainty well known to him, that the Lacedæmonians gave this counsel to the Plateans, not from any regard or good will to them, but from the wish to involve the Athenians in trouble, by engaging them with the Bœotians. If then Herodotus be not malignant, the Lacedæmonians must have been both fraudful and malevolent: the Athenians must also have been fools, in permitting themselves thus to be imposed on, and the Plateans were introduced not from any respect, but merely as an occasion of war."—*T.*

advice was nevertheless accepted, and the Plateans going to Athens, first offered a solemn sacrifice to the twelve deities, and then sitting near the altar, in the attitude of supplicants, they placed themselves formally under the protection of the Athenians. Upon this the Thebans led an army against Platea, to defend which, the Atheneans appeared with a body of forces. As the two armies were about to engage, the Corinthians interfered; their endeavours to reconcile them so far prevailed, that it was agreed, on the part of both nations, to suffer such of the people of Bœotia as did not choose to be ranked as Bœotians, to follow their own inclinations. Having effected this, the Corinthians retired, and their example was followed by the Athenians; these latter were on their return attacked by the Bœotians, whom they defeated. Passing over the boundaries, which the Corinthians had marked out, they determined that Asopus and Hysias should be the future limits between the Thebans and Plateans. The Plateans having thus given themselves up to the Athenians, came to their assistance at Marathon.

CIX. The Athenian leaders were greatly divided in opinion; some thought that a battle was by no means to be hazarded, as they were so inferior to the Medes in point of number; others, among whom was Miltiades, were anxious to

engage the enemy. Of these contradictory sentiments, the less politic appeared likely to prevail, when Miltiades addressed himself to the Polemarch [127], whose name was Callimachus of Aphidnæ. This magistrate, elected into his office by vote, has the privilege of a casting voice: and according to established custom, is equal in point of dignity and influence to the military leaders. Miltiades addressed him thus: "Upon you, O Callimachus, it alone depends, "whether Athens shall be enslaved, or whether, "in the preservation of its liberties, it shall perpetuate your name even beyond the glory of "Harmodius and Aristogiton. Our country is "now reduced to a more delicate and dangerous predicament than it has ever before "experienced; if conquered we know our fate, "and must prepare for the tyranny of Hippias; "if we overcome, our city may be made the first "in Greece. How this may be accomplished, "and in what manner it depends on you, I will

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127 *Polemarch.*]—The polemarch was the third of the nine archons; it was his business to offer sacrifice to Diana, surnamed Agrotera, and to Mars; he had the care and protection of all strangers and foreigners who resided at Athens, over whom he had the same authority as the archon had over the citizens; he regulated the funeral games celebrated in honour of those who died in war; he was also to see that the children of those who lost their lives in the public service had a sufficient maintenance from the public treasury.—*T.*

"explain: the sentiments of our ten leaders "are divided, some are desirous of an engage- "ment, others the contrary. If we do not "engage, some seditious tumult will probably "arise, which may prompt many of our citizens "to favour the cause of the Medes; if we "come to a battle before any evil of this kind "take place, we may, if the gods be not against "us, reasonably hope for victory: all these "things are submitted to your attention, and "are suspended on your will.—If you accede "to my opinion, our country will be free, our "city the first in Greece; if you shall favour "the opinions of those who are averse to an "engagement, you may expect the contrary of "all the good I have enumerated."

CX. These arguments of Miltiades produced the desired effect upon Callimachus, from whose interposition it was determined to fight. Those leaders[128], who from the first had been solicitous to engage the enemy, resigned to Miltiades the

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[128] *Those leaders.*]—Of the ten Athenian generals, it was customary to elect one from each tribe, upon which occasion a memorable saying of Philip of Macedon is preserved by Plutarch in his apophthegms.—"I envy," says Philip, "the good fortune of the Athenians; they every year can find ten men qualified to command their troops, whilst I on my part am only able to find Parmenio, who is capable of conducting mine."—*T.*

days of their respective command. This he accepted, but did not think proper to commence the attack till the day of his own particular command arrived in its course.

CXI. When this happened, the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the following order: Callimachus, as Polemarch, commanded the right wing, in conformity with the established custom of the Athenians; next followed the tribes, ranged in close order, according to their respective ranks; the Platæans, placed in the rear, formed the left wing. Ever since this battle, in those solemn and public sacrifices, which are celebrated every fifth year*, the herald implores happiness for the Platæans, jointly with the Athenians. Thus the Athenians produced a front equal in extent to that of the Medes. The ranks in the centre† were not very deep, which of course constituted their weakest part; but the two wings were more numerous and strong.

CXII. The preparations for the attack being

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* *Every fifth year.*]—Herodotus doubtless means to refer to the feast of the Panathenæa, which was celebrated every fifth year.

† *The centre.*]—The centre was composed of the tribes of Leontes and Antiochis, of which Themistocles commanded the former, Aristides the latter.

thus made, and the appearance of the victims favourable, the Athenians ran toward the Barbarians. There was betwixt the two armies an interval of about eight furlongs. The Persians seeing them, approach by running, prepared to receive them and as they observed the Athenians to be few in number, destitute both of cavalry * and archers, they considered them as mad, and rushing on certain destruction; but as soon as the Greeks mingled with the enemy, they behaved with the greatest gallantry [129]. They were the first Greeks that I know of, who ran to attack an enemy [130];

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* *Cavalry.*]—The Athenians having no means themselves of rearing cavalry, retained those of Thessaly in their pay, but at this period Thessaly was in the power of the Persians: beside this, the Thessalians were attached to the family of Pisistratus.—*Larcher.*

129 *Greatest gallantry.*]—Xenophon says that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice five hundred. Ælian, with some slight variation, relates the same fact. We read in the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that Callimachus the polemarch vowed to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies, and unable to obtain a sufficient number, he substituted goats in their room.—Plutarch reproaches Herodotus for saying nothing of this vow.—*Larcher.*

130 *Ran to attack an enemy.*]—According to Pausanias, long before this period, the Messenians ran to attack the Lacedæmonians, "but this author," says Larcher, "is too modern to oppose to Herodotus." It was certainly after-

they were the first also who beheld without dismay the dress and armour of the Medes; for hitherto in Greece the very name of a Mede excited terror.

CXIII. After a long and obstinate contest, the Barbarians in the centre, composed of the Persians and the Sacæ, obliged the Greeks to give way, and pursued the flying foe into the middle of the country. At the same time the Athenians and Platæans, in the two wings, drove the Barbarians before them; then making an inclination toward each other, by contracting themselves, they formed against that part of the enemy which had penetrated and defeated the Grecian centre, and obtained a complete victory [131], killing a prodigious number, and pur-

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wards the common custom of the Greeks thus to meet the enemy. Cæsar practised this mode of attack against Pompey, and with success.

[131] *A complete victory.*]—" It is surprising," says Larcher, " that in his account of this battle, Herodotus makes no mention of Aristides; his silence is amply supplied by Plutarch. Aristides was one of those who advised an engagement, and when the day of his particular command arrived, gave up his right to Miltiades, and the other generals followed his example. Themistocles and Aristides were the two commanders, who at the head of their different tribes drove the Persians to their ships.—Aristides was left on the field to guard the prisoners and booty: the confidence placed in him by his country was not disappointed; the gold and

suing the rest to the sea, where they set fire to their vessels *.

CXIV. Callimachus the Polèmarch †, after the most signal acts of valour, lost his life in this battle. Stesileus also, the son of Thrasylus, and one of the Grecian leaders, was slain. Cynægirus [132], son of Euphorion, after seizing one of the

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silver which was scattered about, the tents and vessels which were taken full of splendid and valuable effects, he neither touched himself, nor would permit others to do so."

* The battle of Marathon took place on the 6th of the month Metageitmon, corresponding with our 17th of August, and 490 years before the Christian æra.

† Herodotus makes no mention of the manner in which Callimachus died, but the Rhetoricians have asserted that he was pierced by such a number of spears and arrows, that he expired in a standing position, being propped up by hostile weapons, and unable to fall.—See Stobæus, s. 7.

132 *Cynægirus.*]—He was the brother of Æschylus, the celebrated tragic poet; he distinguished himself at the battle of Marathon; but it does not appear that he had any separate command. A remarkable incident is related by Lucan of a man, who, seizing the beak of his enemy's ship, had his hand cut off; undismayed by which, he seized it with the other, of which also he was deprived.

He, the bold youth, as board and board they stand,
Fix'd on a Roman ship his daring hand;
Full on his arm a mighty blow descends,
And the torn limb from off his shoulder rends;
The rigid nerves are cramp'd with stiff'ning cold,
Convulsive grasp, and still retain their hold;

vessels by the poop, had his hand cut off with an axe, and died of his wounds ; with these, many other eminent Athenians perished.

CXV. In addition to their victory, the Athenians obtained possession of seven of the enemy's vessels. The Barbarians retired with their fleet, and, taking on board the Eretrian plunder, which they had left in the island, they passed the promontory of Sunium, thinking to circumvent the Athenians, and arrive at their city before them.

Nor sunk his valour, by the pain deprest,
But nobler rage inflam'd his mangled breast:
His left remaining hand the combat tries,
And fiercely forth to catch the right he flies;
The same hard destiny the left demands,
And now a naked helpless trunk he stands, &c.—*T.*

Larcher mentions that Phasis, a painter, not otherwise known, represented Cynægirus with both his hands.—Cornelius Longinus wrote an epigram on the subject, which is preserved in the Anthology, b. iv. c. viii. e. 32.—The following is the translation of Grotius:

Te Phasis, Cynegire, tamen non ut Cynegirum,
Instructum siquidem fecit utraque manu:
Sed sapuit Pictor, manibus qui noluit orbum
Pingere, qui manuum nomine, morte caret.

Plutarch relates that a man of the name of Tharsippus was the first who carried the news of the victory to Athens.—At the moment of victory, without quitting his arms, he flew to the Archons, and, announcing the glorious event, fell dead at their feet.

The Athenians impute the prosecution of this measure to one of the Alcmæonidæ, who they say held up a shield[133] as a signal to the Persians, when they were under sail.

CXVI. While they were doubling the cape of Sunium, the Athenians lost no time in hastening

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[133] *Held up a shield.*]—"For my part," says Reiske, "I by no means clearly understand this passage: to whom did the Alcmæonidæ show the shield, to the Persians or Athenians? Certainly not to the last, for the Athenians were then in their camp: to the Persians then;—but why to these? To hold up a shield is, according to Diodorus Siculus, ii. 444, a signal for battle; but why should the Alcmæonidæ hold up a shield to the Persians, who were on board their vessels, as a signal to engage a body of land forces?"

The above reasoning of Reiske seems far from satisfactory. If any previous agreement existed betwixt the Alcmæonidæ and the Persians, the holding up of the shield might intimate what could only be known to the persons concerned; and so far from being a signal of battle, might suggest entirely the reverse, and tell them that this was no proper time to hazard an attack. The art of signal-making is now brought to an extraordinary degree of perfection; and at sea in particular, orders of the minutest kind are communicated, and distinctly understood, by the simplest process imaginable, hoisting or lowering colours, sails, &c. The more common signal, as being the more obvious in ancient times, was by fire. In Æschylus, Agamemnon tells Clytemnestra, that he will inform her of the capture of Troy by lighting fires; this is represented as being done, and a messenger comes to inform the queen that Troy is taken, for Agamemnon's signals had been seen.—*T.*

to the defence of their city*, and effectually prevented the designs of the enemy. Retiring from the temple of Hercules, on the plains of Marathon, they fixed their camp near another temple of the same deity, in Cynosargis. The Barbarians anchoring off Phalerum, the Athenian harbour, remained there some time, and then retired to Asia.

CXVII. The Persians lost[134] in the battle of

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* Frontinus affirms that the Persians, seeing a great number of armed troops on their arrival off Athens, believed them to be a fresh and distinct army, and therefore fled hastily to Asia.

[134] *The Persians lost.*]—Plutarch remarks on this passage, that Herodotus derogates from the honour of the victory, by misrepresenting and diminishing the number of the slain. Some have affirmed (see Suidas, at the word ποικίλη) that the Persians lost two hundred thousand men; but the account of Herodotus certainly appears the more probable.

The battle of Marathon, according to Pausanias, was represented in the portico at Athens called Pœcile, from the variety of paintings on its walls. In this picture the most celebrated Athenian and Platæan heroes were drawn from the life: in one part the Barbarians are flying into the marsh, and in the other the Greeks are slaughtering the enemy as they are entering the Phœnician vessels.

The fate of Hippias is differently mentioned. Justin says that he fell in the battle of Marathon. Suidas relates that he fled to Lemnos, where falling ill, he died. Pausanias affirms that, every night, the neighing of horses and the cries of combatants were heard on the plains of Marathon. It is not a little remarkable, which Larcher also observes, that

Marathon six thousand four hundred men, the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two. In the heat of the engagement a most remarkable incident occurred: an Athenian, the son of Cuphagoras, whose name was Epizelus, whilst valiantly fighting, was suddenly struck with blindness. He had received no wound, nor any kind of injury, notwithstanding which he continued blind for the remainder of his life. I have been informed that Epizelus, in relating this calamity, always declared that during the battle he was opposed by a man of gigantic stature, completely armed, whose beard covered the whole of his shield: he added, that the spectre passing him, killed the man who stood next him. This, as I have heard, was the narrative of Epizelus [135].

CXVIII. Datis, on his return with the fleet

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our countryman Spon, who travelled over the country in the year 1676, was told by the inhabitants of the place, that they every night heard loud and strange noises on this spot. The Albanese, with whom Spon lodged, assured him that he frequently heard what seemed to him the voices of women complaining, which, when he approached the spot, ceased.

These good people, says Larcher, had surely never heard of the battle of Marathon; but the tradition had descended to them.

See Chandler, s. xxxv. p. 165 and 166.

135 *Narrative of Epizelus.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, says, that numbers of those who foug that the battle of Marathon believed that they saw at the head of their ranks Theseus in arms, attacking the Persians.—*T.*

to Asia, being at Mycone, saw in the night a vision; the particulars of it are not related, but as soon as the morning appeared, he examined every vessel of the fleet; finding a golden image of Apollo, on board a Phœnician ship, he inquired from whence it had been taken: having learned to what temple it belonged, he took it himself in his own ship to Delos. The Delians being returned to their island, he first deposited the image in the temple, and then enjoined the inhabitants to remove it to the Theban Delium, which is on the sea-coast opposite to Chalcis. Having done this, Datis returned; the Delians paid no attention to his request; but in the twentieth year after the above event the Thebans removed the image to Delium, by the command of an oracle.

CXIX. Datis and Artaphernes, sailing to Asia, carried the captive Eretrians[136] to Susa. Darius, before their defeat, had expressed the severest indignation against them, as having first and unjustly commenced hostilities: but when they were conducted to his presence, effectually humbled and reduced to his power, he showed no farther resentment, but appointed them a resi-

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136 *Captive Eretrians.*]—Larcher tells us, from Philostratus, that the Persians took 780 prisoners at Eretria, but that a great many escaped among the rocks of Eubœa, and that only 400 were carried to Susa, of whom ten were women.

dence at a place called Ardericca*, in the district of Cissia, one of the royal stations. This is distant from Susa two hundred and ten furlongs, and forty from a well, which produced the three substances of bitumen, salt, and oil; it is drawn up with an engine, to which a kind of bucket is suspended made of half a skin; it is then poured into one cistern, and afterward removed into a second. The substances by this process separate; the bitumen and the salt form themselves into distinct masses. The Persians collect the oil, which they call rhadinacè, into vessels; this last is of a dark colour, and has a strong smell. In this place Darius placed the Eretrians, and here to my memory† they have remained, preserving their ancient language.

CXX. After the moon had passed the full[137],

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* *Ardericca.*]—This is not the place spoken of in Clio, c. 185; that Ardericca was in the district of Babylon.

† If we may credit Philostratus, they remained on the same spot at the beginning of the Christian æra.

[137] *Had passed the full.*]—Mankind in all ages, from observing the visible operations of the moon upon the ocean, have supposed its influence to extend not only to human affairs, but to the state of the human body. The justly celebrated Dr. Mead wrote a treatise, intitled De imperio Solis et Lunæ in Corpore Humano; but all those prejudices and this superstition are now exploded by the more satisfactory deductions of a sound philosophy. It has been reasonably urged, that as the most accurate and subtle

a body of two thousand Lacedæmonians arrived at Athens; such was their expedition, that they reached Attica in three days from their leaving Sparta. They did not arrive till after the battle, but so great was their desire of beholding the Medes, that to gratify their curiosity they proceeded to Marathon; they then returned, after congratulating the Athenians on their prowess and victory.

CXXI. I am equally astonished at having heard, and reluctant to believe, that the Alcmæonidæ held up a shield by way of signal to the Persians, wishing to subject the Athenians to the power of the Barbarians and Hippias. No man, in his hatred against all tyrants, could possibly

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barometers are not at all affected by the various positions of the moon, it is very unlikely that the human body should be within the sphere of its influence.

Some travellers have remarked, that in the countries of the East it is customary to prefer the time of the new moon to begin a journey: from this peculiarity Mr. Harmer takes occasion to comment on Proverbs, vii. 19, 20, and 1 Samuel, xx. 24, which passages he explains by referring them to some similar prejudice among the ancient Jews:

Proverbs, vii. 19, 20. The good man is not at home, he is gone a long journey: he hath taken a bag of money in his hand, and will come home at the *appointed time*. "The appointed time," says Mr. Harmer, "may properly be rendered the *new moon*."

1 Samuel xx. 24.—So David hid himself in the field: and when the *new moon* was come, the king sat him down to eat meat.—*T.*

exceed, or even equal, Callias the son of Phænippus, and father of Hipponicus. Callias[138] was ever distinguished by his implacable animosity against Pisistratus; and when the tyrant was expelled, and his effects sold by public auction, he was the only man who dared to become a purchaser.

CXXII. The above personage deserves to be remembered, not only for what we have already mentioned, proving him a man extremely zealous for the liberties of his country, but for the honours he obtained[139] at the Olympic games. He obtained the first prize in the horse-race, the second in that of the chariots drawn by four horses: at the Pythian games he was also victorious, upon

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138 *Callias.*]—A whimsical story is told of this Callias, in Plutarch's Life of Aristides: he was a man of mean rank, but happening to be at the battle of Marathon, was taken by a Barbarian for a king, on account of his long hair, and a bandage which he wore round his forehead. The Persian fell at his feet, and discovered to him a prodigious quantity of gold in a ditch: Callias slew him, and took the money. But how does this accord with what is elsewhere written of Aristides, that he remained on the field, and prevented the plunder being taken by any private hands?—*T.*

Avarice seems to have been the prevailing passion of Callias, and to have overcome his patriotism.—This vice he inherited from his father Alcmæon.

139 *Honours he obtained.*]—The whole of this chapter is wanting, in many manuscripts: Valcnaer seems to think it has no business here; and Larcher believes it was inserted by some sophist, who wished to pay his court to Hipponicus, son of this Callias.—*T.*

which occasion he treated the Greeks with great magnificence[140]. His liberality also to his three daughters was equally conspicuous: as soon as they were of age to marry, he assigned them a noble portion, and suffered each to choose her husband from among all the Athenians.

CXXIII. But all the Alcmæonidæ, as well as Callias, were remarkable for their enmity to tyrants; I am therefore the more astonished to hear, and unwilling to believe, the circumstance imputed to them, of holding up a shield as a signal to the Persians. While a system of tyranny prevailed in their country, they lived in voluntary exile; and it was by their contrivance that the Pisistratidæ resigned their power: for these reasons they seem to me to have more assisted the cause of freedom than either Harmodius or Aristogiton. These latter, by destroying Hipparchus, so far from repressing the ambitious designs of the other Pisistratidæ, only inflamed them the more. The Alcmæonidæ were avowedly the deliverers of Athens, if indeed it was at their suggestion that

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140 *With great magnificence.*]—I presume it was customary to do this in proportion to the rank and affluence of the victor. I find in Athenæus, book i. chap. 3, several examples to this effect.—Alcibiades, in consequence of being victorious at the Olympic games, offered a sacrifice to the Olympian Jupiter, and gave an entertainment to all the assembly of Olympia. Ion of Chios, having obtained the prize for his tragedy, gave to every Athenian a flask of Chian wine.—*T.*

the Pythian, as I have before described, enjoined the Lacedæmonians to restore its freedom.

CXXIV. It may be asked, whether they were induced to betray their country, from any resentment against the people of Athens; but no individuals were more illustrious at Athens, or held in more general estimation. The story, therefore, of the shield, imputed to this motive, contradicts probability: that a shield was held up cannot be disputed, but by whom I can by no means farther determine.

CXXV. The Alcmæonidæ were always among the most distinguished characters of Athens; but Alcmæon himself, and Megacles, his immediate descendant, were more particularly illustrious. Alcmæon, son of Megacles, received with great kindness, and obliged by many services, those Lydians whom Crœsus sent from Sardis to consult the oracle at Delphi. On their return, they did not omit to acquaint Crœsus with his benevolence; he instantly sent for him to Sardis, and presented him with as much gold as he was able to carry. To improve the value of this gift, Alcmæon made use of the following artifice:—Providing himself with a large tunic, in which were many folds, and with the most capacious buskins he could procure, he followed his guide to the royal treasury; there rolling himself amongst the golden ingots, he first stuffed his buskins as full of gold

as possibly he could, he then filled all the folds of his robes, his hair, and even his mouth with gold dust. This done, with extreme difficulty he staggered from the place, from his swelling mouth, and projections all around him, resembling any thing rather than a man. When Crœsus saw him, he burst into laughter, and not only suffered him to carry away all that he had got, but added other presents equally valuable. The family from this circumstance became exceedingly affluent, and Alcmæon was thus enabled to procure and maintain those horses which obtained him the victory at the Olympic games*.

CXXVI. In the age which next succeeded, Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, raised this family even beyond its former importance. Clisthenes, who was the son of Aristonymus, grandson of Mynon, and great-grandson of Andros, had a daughter named Agarista: his determination was to marry her to the most distinguished man in Greece. During the celebration of the Olympic games at which Clisthenes was victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, he ordered this proclamation to be made by a herald—that whoever thought himself worthy of becoming the son-in-law of Clisthenes was desired to appear

* According to Isocrates, Alcmæon was the first Athenian citizen who obtained the victory in the chariot race of two horses.

at Sicyon within sixty days; for in the course of a year, reckoning from that period, Clisthenes intended to give his daughter in marriage. All those therefore who were either proud of their own merit, or of their country, appeared as candidates; and Clisthenes prepared for the occasion a palæstra[141], and other proper places of exercise.

CXXVII. From Italy came Smindyrides[142],

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[141] *A palæstra.*]—Not unlike to this conduct of Clisthenes were the solemnities described in books of ancient romance, and chivalry, as preceding the nuptials of a king's daughter. The knight who was victorious at tilts and tournaments generally captivated the affections of the lady, and obtained the consent of the father. Bishop Hurd, in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance, traces the origin of jousts and tournaments no farther than the feudal constitution of the middle ages; perhaps, without great impropriety, he might have found the seeds of their existence in the public games of Greece. To these we may certainly look for the contests, whether of gladiators or beasts, exhibited in the amphitheatres of ancient Rome; from which basis, through various modifications, the spirit of Gothic chivalry might possibly be derived.—*T.*

[142] *Smindyrides.*]—The effeminate softness of this man is twice mentioned by Ælian in his Various History. See book ix. c. 24. He complained, after sleeping upon roses, that he had got tumours in his body from the hardness of his bed. Senaca, in his Treatise de Ira, had evidently in his eye the above passage of Ælian; but he says that Smindyrides complained of the roses being doubled under him—foliis rosæ duplicatis. The words of Ælian are φλυκταινας εκ της

son of Hippocrates, a native of Sybaris, and a man eminent for his refined luxury: Sybaris was at that time an affluent and powerful city. On the same occasion Damas of Siris appeared; he was the son of Samyris, surnamed the Wise. Amphimnestus the Epidamnian, son of Epistrophus, came from the Ionian Gulph. Among others also was Males the Ætolian, brother of that Titormus[143] who surpassed the rest of his countrymen in bodily prowess, but who had retired from society, to the remote parts of Ætolia. Leocedes, son of Phidon, prince of the Argives, came from the Peloponnese: this man first introduced the instruments of measuring[144] in the

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ενυης εχειν: now φλυκταιναι certainly mean tumours occasioned from extreme exercise or fatigue.

The other passage in Ælian, is book xii. c. 24; from which we learn, that when he paid his addresses to the daughter of Clisthenes, he carried with him a thousand cooks, a thousand fowlers, and a thousand fishermen.—*T.*

He is also mentioned contemptuously for the same effeminate qualities by Maximus Tyrius, in his third Dissertation.

[143] *Titormus.*]—This man, as we learn from Athenæus, one day disputed with Milo of Crotona, which could soonest devour a whole ox. Of this last, incredible as it may seem, it is related that he carried a young bull of four years old upon his shoulders to some distance; after which he killed it, divided it into portions, and eat the whole of it by himself, in the space of a day.—*Larcher.*

[144] *Instruments of Measuring.*]—On this subject the following passage occurs in Pliny. Mensuras et pondera Phidon

Peloponnese, and was the most insolent of all his cotemporaries. He removed the Agonothetæ[145] from Elis, which office he himself afterwards executed at Olympia. Amiantus the Arcadian, son of Lycurgus, came from Trapezus: there was also Laphenes the Azenian, of the city of Pæos, and son of that Euphorion who, as is reported in Arcadia, entertained at his house Castor and Pollux, and was afterwards remarkable for his universal hospitality. Onomastus of Elis, the son of Agæus, was also of the number. Among the Athenians were Megacles, son of that Alcmæon who went to Crœsus; and Hippoclides, son of Tisander, who was eminent among his countrymen, both for his affluence and his personal accomplishments. The only Eubœan was Lysanias, who came from Eretria, which was at

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Argivus invenit, vel Palamedes ut malluit Gellius.—The first introduction of weights and measures into Greece is imputed by some to Pythagoras. See Diog. Laert. in Pythag. D'Anville is of opinion that the measures here mentioned were not those of distance.—*Larcher.*

I agree with Larcher, that it is not at all probable that this Phidon was the inventor of weights and measures.—The real invention must have originated almost with the first formation of men into society.—The truth is, perhaps, that he diversified and improved them. The Ægyptians and Orientals certainly had weights and measures at a very early period.

[145] *Agonothetæ.*]—These were the judges and arbiters of the public games.

that time in considerable repute. Of the Scopadæ * of Thessaly, was present Diactorides the Cranonian, and Alcon from among the Molossians.—These were the suitors.

CXXVIII. On their appearance at the day appointed, Clisthenes first inquired of each, his country and his family. He then detained them all for the space of a year, examining their comparative strength, sensibility, learning, and manners: for this purpose, he sometimes conversed with them individually, sometimes collectively. The youngest he often engaged in public exercises; but his great trial of them all, was at public entertainments. As long as they were with him, they were treated with the utmost magnificence and liberality; but he shewed a particular preference to the Athenians. Of these, Hippoclides, the son of Tisander, was the first in his regard, both on account of his own personal prowess, as well as because his ancestors were related to the Cypselidæ [146] of Corinth.

CXXIX. When the day arrived which was to

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* *Scopadæ.*]—The riches of his family were proverbial. Eritias, one of the thirty tyrants, expresses a wish for the wealth of the Scopadæ.

[146] *Cypselidæ.*]—See an account of the founder of this family, in the fifth book, chapter 92.

decide the choice of Clisthenes, and the solemnization of the nuptials, an hundred oxen [147] were sacrificed, and the suitors, with all the Sicyonians, invited to the feast. After supper, the suitors engaged in a dispute about music, and in other general subjects. Whilst they were drinking [148], Hippoclides, who made himself remarkably conspicuous, directed one of the musicians to play a tune called "Emmelia [149];" his request being

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147 *Hundred Oxen.*]—The origin of hecatombs, according to Strabo, was this: there were an hundred cities in Laconia, each of which every year sacrificed an ox. The etymology of hecatomb is from ἑκατομβή, a solemn sacrifice; or rather from ἑκατος, an hundred, and βους, an ox. By a hecatomb in general, we understand the sacrifice of an hundred beasts of the same kind, upon an hundred altars, by an hundred different priests.—*T.*

148 *Whilst they were drinking.*]—In Greece, says Larcher, they did not drink till after they had done eating. This is exemplified from a passage of Xenophon, where, when somebody at the table of Seuthes desires Aristus to drink; he replies, "that he has not yet done eating, but that he might ask Xenophon to drink, who had dined."

149 *Emmelia.*]—It has been generally understood of the dance called Emmelia, that it was of a peculiar gravity and stateliness, suited to the dignity of tragedy; but I think with Larcher, from the passage before us, that there must have been different kinds of dances under this name; for it seems not at all likely that Clisthenes should quarrel with his son-in-law elect for exercising himself in a solemn and dignified dance. Of this dance also we are told that Plato approved, along with the Pyrrhic or military dances, which he certainly would not have done, if it had been of the

obeyed, he began to dance with much satisfaction to himself, though, as it should seem, to the great disgust of Clisthenes, who attentively observed him. After a short pause, Hippoclides commanded a table to be brought; upon this he first of all danced according to the Lacedæmonian, and then in the Athenian manner: at length he stood upon his head, using his legs as if they had been his hands. The two former actions of Hippoclides, Clisthenes observed with great command of temper; he determined not to choose him as his son-in-law, being much offended with his want of delicacy and decorum; but when he saw him dancing with his feet in the air, he could contain himself no longer, but exclaimed, "Son of Tisander, you have danced away your wife."—"Hippoclides cares not," was the abrupt reply. This afterwards became a proverb [150].

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immodest kind which is here reprobated. It may also without impropriety be observed, that the Athenians deemed those unpolite who refused to exercise themselves in dancing, when the proper opportunity occurred; and what time could be more suitable than a nuptial feast? The act of dancing would naturally seem to indicate joy, but it constituted a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancients. I have somewhere read of a tribe of Indians, among whom dancing was practised as a testimony of sorrow.—*T.*

[150] *Became a proverb.*]—Lucian uses this as a proverbial expression, in his Apolog. pro Merced. Arduct. ὁ φροντι Ἱπποκλειδῃ, Hippoclides cares not. We have one in this

CXXX. After this Clisthenes, demanding silence, thus addressed the assembly: "Ye, who "have come hither as suitors to my daughter, "are all entitled to my praise, and if it were in "my power I would gratify you all, not distin- "guishing one in preference to the rest; but "this is impossible, for as there is only one "virgin, the wishes of you all cannot be satis- "fied: to each of you, therefore, who must "depart hence disappointed of your object, in "acknowledgment of your condescension in de- "siring to marry a daughter of mine, I present "a talent of silver; but I give my daughter "Agarista to Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, to "be his wife, according to the Athenian laws." Megacles accepted the honour, and the marriage was solemnized.

CXXXI. Such was the decision made with respect to these suitors, and in this manner the Alcmæonidæ became illustrious in Greece. The first offspring of this marriage was called Clisthenes, after his maternal grandfather, the prince of Sicyon. He it was who divided the Athenians

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country, among the common people, nearly the same—"Who cares?" The expression ολιγον μοι μελει occurs frequently in the Vespis of Aristophanes, probably in allusion to this place of Herodotus.

into tribes*, and introduced a democracy. The name of the second son was Hippocrates, to whom afterwards was born a son named Megacles, and a daughter called Agarista, after the daughter of Clisthenes: she was married to Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron. During her pregnancy, she dreamt that she brought forth a lion, and was very soon afterwards delivered of Pericles.

CXXXII. Miltiades was always very popular at Athens; but after the signal defeat of the Persians at Marathon, his reputation still more increased. He demanded of his countrymen a fleet of seventy ships, with a supply of men and money: he did not specify to what place he intended to conduct them, but only promised that he would lead them to affluence, and to a country from whence they should bring abundance of gold. The Athenians believed and obeyed him.

CXXXIII. Receiving the reinforcement he had solicited, Miltiades sailed to Paros. His pretended object was to punish the Parians for

* Larcher inserts the word ten, which number Herodotus undoubtedly meant, but he has not so expressed himself, and I have therefore rendered the text literally as I found it.

taking an active part in favour of the Persians, at the battle of Marathon. This however was assumed; his resentment against the Parians arose from Lysagoras, the son of Tysias, a native of Paros, who had prejudiced Hydarnes the Persian against him. On his arrival before the place, Miltiades commenced a vigorous siege, sending at the same time a herald to the Parians, demanding an hundred talents; and declaring, that if they did not grant it, he would not leave the place till he had destroyed it. The Parians never thought for a moment of complying with his demand, but attended vigilantly to the defence of their city, strengthening those parts which were weak, and rendering, under advantage of the night, their wall twice as strong as it was before.

CXXXIV. Thus far all the Greeks correspond in their account; what ensued is thus related by the Parians: Miltiades, reduced to great perplexity [151], consulted with a female captive, a Parian by birth, whose name was Timo, a priestess of the infernal deities. On her appearing before him, she said, that if he wished to accomplish

151 *Great perplexity.*]—The account given of Miltiades, and of this particular expedition, by Cornelius Nepos, is materially different.—*T.*

his designs upon Paros, he must follow her advice. In consequence of what she recommended, Miltiades advanced to an eminence before the city, and, not being able to open the gates of a place consecrated to Ceres Thesmophoros, he leaped over the fence: from hence he proceeded to the temple, either to remove something which it was deemed impious to touch, or with some other intention; on approaching the entrance he was seized with a sudden horror of mind; and returning by the same way, he in leaping a second time over the wall, dislocated his thigh, though, as some say, he wounded his knee.

CXXXV. After the above accident Miltiades returned home, without bringing the Athenians the wealth he promised, or rendering himself master of Paros, before which, after laying waste the island, he remained six-and-twenty days. When the Parians knew that Timo the priestess had given advice to Miltiades, they wished to punish her. As soon therefore as the siege was raised, they sent to Delphi to inquire whether they might put the priestess to death, as having pointed out to an enemy the means of possessing their country, and who had exposed to Miltiades those sacred ceremonies, at which it was not lawful for a man to be present. The Pythian would not suffer them to hurt her, saying, that Timo

was not culpable, for that it was decreed that Miltiades should miserably perish, and that she was only the instrument of conducting him to his destiny.

CXXXVI. On his return from Paros, Miltiades was generally censured by his countrymen, and in particular by Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, who accused him capitally to the Athenians, as a betrayer of his country. To this Miltiades could not personally reply, for his wound mortifying, he was confined to his bed; but he was very vigorously defended by his friends, who adduced in his favour, the victory of Marathon, and the taking of Lemnos, which, after chastising the Pelasgi, he had reduced under the power of Athens. By the interference of the people, his life was saved, but he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents [152]. His wound growing worse, Miltiades died, but the fine was discharged by his son Cimon*.

CXXXVII. Miltiades had obtained posses-

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[152] *Fifty talents.*]—This, according to Cornelius Nepos, was the sum which it cost the Athenians to fit out the armament which Miltiades led against Paros.—*T.*

* Plato informs us that Miltiades was actually condemned to death, but was saved by the interposition of the Prytanis. —It is to be wished, says Larcher, that Herodotus had preserved the name of the generous citizen who saved the life of Miltiades.

sion of Lemnos by the following means: The Pelasgians had been expelled Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or otherwise, I am not able to determine: Hecatæus, the son of Hegesander, in his history, says unjustly. The Athenians, according to him, observing their territory near Hymettus, which they had given up to the Pelasgi, as a reward for building them a wall, well cultivated, whereas formerly it produced little, and was of no estimation, they expelled them from it, without any other motive than envy, and a desire of obtaining the place. The Athenian account says, that the Pelasgi were justly expelled; this people, they assert, made hostile excursions from Hymettus [153], and frequently offered violence to the young women who went from Athens to the nine fountains, for the purpose of drawing water; for at this period the Greeks had no slaves. Not satisfied with treating these with great insolence and brutality, the Pelasgi formed the bolder design of rendering themselves masters of Athens. The Athenians think their conduct on this occasion entitled to the highest

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153 *Hymettus.*]—This place, now called Hymetto, was anciently famous for producing fine marble, abundance of bees, and excellent honey. The hills of Hymettus were the scene of the celebrated story of Cephalus and Procris. See Ovid de Arte Amandi, iii. 687.

Est prope purpureos colles florentis Hymetti
Fons sacer, &c. *T.*

praise; for, having detected the Pelasgi of treachery, they might justly have exterminated them, instead of which they only expelled them the country. Thus circumstanced, they dispersed themselves, and some of them settled at Lemnos. —Such are the different accounts of Hecatæus and the Athenians.

CXXXVIII. Those Pelasgi who settled at Lemnos, were very solicitous to avenge themselves on the Athenians. Knowing therefore the times of their public festivals, they prepared two fifty-oared barks to surprise the Athenian females [154] who were engaged near Brauron, in celebrating the feast of Diana: many of these fell into their hands, and being carried to Lemnos, became their concubines. These women had a

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[154] *Athenian females.*]—In the Greek, the *wives* of the Athenians. It is proper to observe, that the Athenians, who called themselves Athenaioi, never called their women Athenaiai, because Minerva is in Homer called Athenaia. such was their superstition. They spoke of their women by a periphrasis, as in this passage, or by the word αστραι, astai, female citizens, because Athens, by way of distinction, was called Αστυ, the city.

The feast here mentioned was called Brauronia, from the place at which it was celebrated. A goat was sacrificed, and rhapsodists sung portions of the Iliad; it was celebrated every five years. Young girls, sacred to Diana, celebrated this feast in saffron-coloured robes; they might not be more than ten years old, nor less than five.—*Larcher.*

number of children, whom they educated in the Athenian language and manners: these accordingly refused to associate with the other children of the Pelasgi: and if one of them was at any time beaten by them, they mutually ran to one another's assistance. They thought themselves worthy of being their masters, and ultimately became so. The Pelasgians, observing this, were much exasperated, for, said they, if these children thus unite against the offspring of our legitimate wives, and are continually aiming at superiority over them, what will they do when they arrive at manhood? They resolved therefore to put these children to death, after which they determined also to kill their mothers. This action, added to a former one, in which the women of Lemnos destroyed all their husbands, with Thoas their king[155], induced the Grecians to call every atrocious crime Lemnian.

CXXXIX. The Pelasgi, after the above

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155 *Thoas their king.*]—Later writers have made Hypsipyle preserve the life of her father Thoas. The whole of this is beautifully described by Valerius Flaccus, in his second book. The motive which was supposed to induce the Lesbian women to this sanguinary action was this:—The Lemnian women celebrated every year a festival in honour of Venus; but having neglected this custom, the goddess punished their neglect by giving them a disagreeable odour, which made their husbands avoid them. The women, thus deeming themselves despised, slew all the men.—*T.*

murder of their children and concubines, found their earth, their cattle, and their wives alike cursed with sterility: to obtain relief from which they sent a deputation to Delphi. The Pythian commanded them to render such satisfaction to the Athenians as they should require; they accordingly went to Athens, engaging themselves to submit to whatever should be proposed. The Athenians set in order some couches in the Prytaneum, which they adorned with the greatest magnificence, they prepared also a table covered with every delicacy; they then required the Pelasgi to surrender them Lemnos in a similar state of abundance:—"Whenever," said they, in reply, "one of your vessels shall in a single day "make its passage to our country with a northern "wind, we will comply with what you require." This they conceived to be impracticable, as Attica lies considerably to the south of Lemnos.

CXL. After an interval of some years, when the Chersonese on the Hellespont came under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Cimon, under favour of the Etesian winds, passed in a single day from Elæos in the Chersonese to Lemnos; he instantly commanded them to depart from Lemnos, reminding them of the declaration of the Oracle[156], the completion of which they

[156] *Oracle.*]—A speech of the kind related in the former

little expected. With this the Hephæstians complied, but the Myrinæi not allowing the Chersonese to be Attica, sustained a siege, but were compelled to surrender. Thus, by means of Miltiades[157], the Athenians became masters of Lemnos.

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chapter, though delivered by common persons, was considered as prophetic and oracular.

157 *Means of Miltiades.*]—Compare the account of Herodotus with that given by Cornelius Nepos.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

CHAP. I.

HEN the news of the battle of Marathon was communicated to Darius, he, who was before incensed against the Athenians, on account of their invasion of Sardis, became still more exasperated, and more inclined to invade Greece. He instantly therefore sent emissaries to the different cities under his power, to provide a still greater number of transports, horses, corn, and provisions. In the interval which this business employed, Asia experienced three years of confusion; her most able men being enrolled in the Greek expedition, and making preparation for it. In the fourth, the Ægyptians, who had been reduced by Cambyses, revolted from the Persians: but this only induced Darius to accelerate his preparations against both nations*.

* This is one of the most interesting parts of the history of Herodotus. It exhibits the most circumstantial detail of

II. At this juncture there arose a violent dispute among the sons of Darius, concerning the succession to the throne, the Persian customs forbidding the sovereign to undertake any expedition without naming his heir. Darius had three sons before he ascended the throne, by the daughter of Gobryas; he had four afterwards by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus: Artobazanes [1] was the eldest of the former, Xerxes of the latter. Not being of the same mother, a dispute arose [2]

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the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, by a writer almost cotemporary. It is also impressed with the character of authenticity, for it was recited to a multitude of Greeks assembled at Olympia, among whom doubtless there were many who had fought both at Salamis and Platæa.

[1] *Artobazanes.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that from this personage the celebrated Mithridates, king of Pontus, who for so many years resisted the Roman power, was descended. Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and other authors, trace this prince to one of the seven Persians who conspired against Smerdis Magus. This Artobazanes probably enjoyed the satrapy of Pontus, and his descendants doubtless enjoyed it also till Mithridates, surnamed Ctistes (the founder) became sovereign of the country of which he had before only been governor.

This reasoning will hardly appear satisfactory, unless it were evident that the satrapies under the crown of Persia were hereditary, which was by no means the case.—*T.*

[2] *A dispute arose.*]—The account given of this affair by Plutarch, in his Treatise of Brotherly Love, differs materially.

" When Darius died, some contended that Ariamenes

between them; Artobazanes asserted his pretensions from being the eldest of all his father's sons, a claim which mankind in general consent to acknowledge[3]. Xerxes claimed the throne

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should succeed him, as being eldest; others recommended Xerxes, because Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, was his mother, and he was born whilst Darius was actually king. Ariamenes accordingly went to Media, not with any hostile views, but peaceably to have the matter determined. Xerxes, who was on the spot, exercised the royal functions; but as soon as his brother arrived, he laid aside his crown and kingly ornaments, and hastened to salute him. He sent him various presents, and words to this effect: 'Xerxes your brother sends you these presents, to shew how much he honours you. If the Persians shall elect me king, you shall be next to myself.' The reply of Ariamenes was, 'I accept your presents; the crown I believe to be my right: I shall honour all my brethren, and Xerxes in particular.' When the day of decision arrived, the Persians elected as judge Artabanus, brother of Darius. Xerxes, who depended on the multitude, objected to him, for which he was censured by his mother Atossa: 'Why,' she observed, 'should you refuse to have your uncle as judge, one of the worthiest men in Persia? and why dread a contest, where if inferior you will still be next to the king?' Xerxes suffered himself to be persuaded, and after hearing the arguments of both, Artabanus adjudged the crown to Xerxes. Ariamenes on this hastily arose, made obeisance to his brother, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to the throne."

[3] *Consent to acknowledge.*]—The *principle* of hereditary succession is universal, but the *order* has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example, which was

because he was the grandson of Cyrus, to whom the Persians were indebted for their liberties.

III. Before Darius had made any decision, and in the very midst of the contention, there arrived at Susa, Demaratus [4], the son of Ariston,

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originally decided by fraud or violence.—See *Gibbon*, iv. 387.

The jurisprudence of the Romans (he continues) appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his parental power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown; the two sexes were placed on a just level; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal share of the patrimonial estate.

Amongst the patriarchs, the first-born enjoyed a mystical and spiritual primogeniture. In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance.

At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers.

In England the eldest son alone inherits all the land; a law, says judge Blackstone, unjust only in the opinion of younger brothers.

Upon the above I would remark, that Blackstone speaks judiciously; whilst I can consider the sentiments of Mr. Gibbon as little better than declamation. It seems evident, that property continually subdivided must be rendered useless to all; or, if this were not the case, to create a numerous class too proud to be industrious, would be to introduce a swarm of useless and inactive drones into the political hive. The wealth of elder brothers maintains the splendour and dignity of a state; the activity of the younger branches gives it life and strength.—*T.*

4 *Demaratus.*]—Xerxes gave Demaratus the cities of

who being deprived of the crown of Sparta, had fled from Lacedæmon. This man, hearing of the controversy, went, as is reported, to Xerxes, and recommended him to urge farther, in support of his claim, that when he was born, Darius was in actual enjoyment of the empire of Persia, but at the birth of Artobazanes, his father was only a private individual. The pretensions of Xerxes therefore could not be set aside, without the most obvious violation of equity. To strengthen this, the example of the Spartans[5] was adduced, among whom, those children born after the accession of the prince to the throne, were universally preferred to those born before. Xerxes availed himself of this counsel given by Demaratus, which so effectually impressed Darius, that he declared him his successor. For my own part, I think that Xerxes would have reigned without this advice from Demaratus, as Atossa* enjoyed an almost unlimited authority.

Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, because he attended him on his expedition to Greece. These places were enjoyed by Eurysthenes and Procles, his descendants, at the end of the first year of the 95th Olympiad.—*Larcher.*

5 *Example of the Spartans.*]—Cragius, in his useful book De Republica Lacedæmoniorum, speaks at some length on the right of succeeding to the throne of Sparta; but I do not find that he mentions the particularity which is here sanctioned by the respectable authority of Herodotus.—*T.*

* Atossa was the daughter of Cyrus, and wife to her brother Cambyses. She afterwards was married to Smerdis

IV. Darius having declared Xerxes his heir, prepared to march; but in the year which succeeded the Ægyptian revolt, he died; having reigned thirty-six years, without being able to gratify his resentment against the Ægyptians[6] and Athenians who had opposed his power.

V. On his death, Xerxes immediately succeeded to the throne, who from the first, seemed wholly inclined to the Ægyptian rather than the Athenian war. But Mardonius, who was his cousin, being the son of Gobryas, by a sister of Darius, thus addressed him: "I should think, "Sir[7], that the Athenians, who have so griev-

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the magus, and again after his death to Darius. If Aspasius may be believed, she came to a most miserable end. In a transport of fury, her son Xerxes tore her in pieces, and afterward devoured her. *Ξερξης ὁ των Περσων βασιλευς μανεις και φαγε την εαυτου μητερα κρεουργησας.*

[6] *Ægyptians.*]—Aristotle on this subject is at variance with Herodotus; he says that Darius having taken possession of Ægypt, passed over from thence into Greece, confounding Darius with Xerxes. The authority of Herodotus, says Larcher, who was almost a contemporary, seems preferable to that of Aristotle, who lived a long time afterward.

[7] *I should think, Sir.*]—The word Δεσποτα I have rendered "Sir;" Larcher has expressed it by the word "Seigneur," as most significant of the reverence with which a slave addressed his lord. For my own part, I am inclined to consider it as a term of general respect, and not as having any appropriate signification, to intimate the condition of the Persians with regard to their sovereigns. Thus, amongst the

" ously injured the Persians, ought not to escape " with impunity. I would nevertheless have you " execute what you immediately propose; but " when you shall have chastised the insolence of " Ægypt, resume the expedition against Athens. " Thus will your reputation be established, and " others in future be deterred from molesting " your dominions." What he said was farther enforced by representing the beauties of Europe, that it was exceedingly fertile, abounded with all kinds of trees[6], and deserved to be possessed by the king alone.

Jews, the word rabbi meant, as it is properly rendered in our versions, " master," that is to say, it did not imply that they to whom it was applied were the masters of those who used it; but it was a term which custom adopted, and politeness sanctified, as respectful from an inferior to a person above him. Add to this, that it was peculiar to the lofty genius of the oriental languages to adopt phrases by no means to be interpreted or understood in their strict and literal sense.—*T.*

Probably the term " Sire" would not have been improper. The speaker was the king's relation, as well as his subject. Not improbably our master, or mister, had a similar origin.

[6] *Trees.*]—Yet the mention of trees from the mouth of a Persian, when speaking of another country, was very characteristic. Persia is remarkably bare of trees. M. De Beauchamp, who had traversed it, says, on the occasion of his viewing the beautiful forests on the southern shores of the Euxine; " La Perse, ce fameux empire de Perse, n'a ni bois, ni rivieres, du moins dans la partie septentrionale que j'ai parcourrue l'espace de 300 lieuve."

Mem. sur l'Ægypte, v. ii. p. 141.

VI. Mardonius said this, being desirous of new enterprizes, and ambitious of the government of Greece. Xerxes at length acceded to his counsel, to which he was also urged by other considerations. Some messengers came from Thessaly on the part of the Aleuadæ, imploring the king to invade Greece; to accomplish which, they used the most earnest endeavours. These Aleuadæ* were the princes of Thessaly: their solicitations were strengthened by the Pisistratidæ, who had taken refuge at Susa, and who to the arguments before adduced, added others. They had among them Onomacritus, an Athenian, a famous priest, who sold the oracles of Musæus; with him they had been reconciled previous to their arrival at Susa. This man had been formerly banished from Athens by the son of Pisistratus; for Lasus[9] of Hermione had detected him in the fact of introducing a pretended

* It appears from Herodotus, book ix. chap. 58, that there were three of these, and their names were Thorax, Thrasydeius, and Euripylus.

9 *Lasus.*]—Lasus was a musician, poet, and, according to some, one of the seven sages of Greece. He was the inventor of the dithyrambic verse, and of the circular dances. Aristophanes, in the Aves, calls him κυκλιο διδασκαλος. He was fond of gaming: and, according to Plutarch, when Xenophanes refused once to play with him, he reproached him with cowardice: "Yes," answered Xenophanes, "in every thing which is base and dishonest, I confess myself a coward."—*T.*

oracle, among the verses of Musæus, intimating that the islands contiguous to Lemnos should be overwhelmed in the ocean. Hipparchus for this expelled him, though he had been very intimate with him before. He accompanied the Pisistratidæ to Susa, who always spoke of him in terms highly honourable; upon which account, whenever he appeared in the royal presence, he recited certain oracular verses. He omitted whatever predicted any thing unfortunate to the Barbarians, selecting only what promised them auspiciously; among other things he said the fates decreed that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont.

VII. Thus was the mind of Xerxes assailed by the predictions of the priest, and the opinions of the Pisistratidæ. In the year[10] which followed the death of Darius, he determined on an expedition against Greece, but commenced hostilities with those who had revolted from the Persians. These being subdued, and the whole of Ægypt[11] more effectually reduced than it had

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[10] *In the year.*]—Herodotus was born this year, at Halicarnassus in Caria. See Aulus Gellius, book xv. c. 23.

"Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, flourished in the same time, and were nearly at the same age; Hellanicus, in the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, was sixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty."—*T.*

[11] *Whole of Ægypt.*]—Xerxes having ascended the throne,

been by Darius, he confided the government of it to Achæmenes, his own brother, son of Darius. Achæmenes was afterwards slain by Inaros, a Libyan, the son of Psammetichus.

VIII. After the subjection of Ægypt, Xerxes prepared to lead an army against Athens, but first of all he called an assembly of the principal Persians, to hear their sentiments, and to deliver without reserve, his own. He addressed them to the following purport: "You will remember, O "Persians, that I am not about to execute any "new project of my own; I only pursue the "path which has been previously marked out "for me. I have learned from my ancestors, "that ever since we recovered this empire from "the Medes, after the depression of Astyages by "Cyrus, we have never been in a state of in- "activity. A deity is our guide, and auspi- "ciously conducts us to prosperity. It must be "unnecessary for me to relate the exploits of "Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, and the na- "tions they added to our empire. For my own

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employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Ægypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God at that place.—*Prideaux*.

" part, ever since my accession to the throne, it " has been my careful endeavour not to reflect " any disgrace upon my forefathers, by suffering " the Persian power to diminish. My delibe- " rations on this matter have presented me with " a prospect full of glory; they have pointed " out to me a region not inferior to our own in " extent, and far exceeding it in fertility, which " incitements are farther promoted by the ex- " pectation of honourable revenge; I have there- " fore assembled you to explain what I intend; " I have resolved, by throwing a bridge over the " Hellespont[12], to lead my forces through Eu- " rope into Greece, and to inflict vengeance on " the Athenians for the injuries offered to my " father and Persia. You well know that this " war was intended by Darius, though death de- " prived him of the means of vengeance. Con-

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[12] *Hellespont.*]—Bochart thinks it very probable, what other learned men have also conjectured, that the Hellespont was originally called Elis-pont, from Elisha, the eldest of Javan's sons; and it may be added, that one of the 120 provinces, as they stood in the rolls of the Persian Empire, was named Provincia *Alysionensis*, for so Herodotus informs us; and it is placed between the provinces of Ionia and Phrygia, comprehending Æolia. From the authority above cited, upon the change of language Elisha the son of Javan was called Æolus. The Jewish rabbins explain the name Elisha, *ad insulam;* and Varro, as cited by Servius, on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippotades, styling him Dominus insularum (lord of the islands.)—*T.*

" sidering what is due to him and to Persia, it
" is my determination not to remit my exertions,
" till Athens shall be taken and burned[13]. The
" Athenians, unprovoked, first insulted me and
" my father: under the conduct of Aristagoras
" of Miletus, our dependant and slave, they at-
" tacked Sardis, and consumed with fire, our
" groves and temples. What they perpetrated
" against you, when, led by Datis and Arta-
" phernes, you penetrated into their country,
" you know by fatal experience. Such are my
" inducements to proceed against them: but I
" have also additional motives. If we reduce
" these and their neighbours who inhabit the
" country of Pelops the Phrygian, to our power,
" the Persian Empire will be limited by the hea-
" vens alone; the sun will illuminate no country
" contiguous to ours: I shall overrun all Eu-
" rope, and with your assistance possess unli-

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13 *Taken and burned.*]—Mr. Glover had probably this speech of Xerxes in his mind, when he wrote the following lines, which he makes Mardonius utter on entering Athens:

Is this the city whose presumption dar'd
Invade the lord of Asia? sternly said
Mardonius, entering.—Whither now are fled
Th'audacious train, whose firebrands Sardis felt?
Where'er you lurk, Athenians, if in sight,
Soon shall you view your citadel in flames;
Or, if retreated to a distant land,
No distant land of refuge shall you find
Against avenging Xerxes. *Athenaid.*

" mited dominion. For if I am properly in-
" formed, there exists no race of men, nor can
" any city or nation be found, which if these
" be reduced, can possibly resist our arms: we
" shall thus subject, as well those who have, as
" those who have not injured us. I call there-
" fore for your assistance, which I shall thank-
" fully accept and acknowledge; I trust that
" with cheerfulness and activity you will all
" assemble at the place I shall appoint. To
" him who shall appear with the greatest number
" of well-provided troops, I will present those
" gifts which in our country are thought to con-
" fer the highest honour. That I may not ap-
" pear to dictate my own wishes in an arbitrary
" manner, I commit the matter to your reflec-
" tion, permitting every one to deliver his senti-
" ments with freedom."

IX. When Xerxes had finished, Mardonius made the following reply: " Sir, you are not " only the most illustrious of all the Persians " who have hitherto appeared, but you may " securely defy the competition of posterity. " Among other things which you have advanced, " alike excellent and just, you are entitled to " our particular admiration for not suffering the " people of Ionia, contemptible as they are, to " insult us with impunity. It would indeed be " preposterous, if after reducing to our power

" the Sacæ, the Indians, the Æthiopians, and
" the Assyrians, with many other great and
" illustrious nations, not in revenge of injuries
" received, but solely from the honourable de-
" sire of dominion, we should not inflict ven-
" geance on these Greeks who, without provo-
" cation, have molested us. There can be
" nothing to excite our alarm; no multitude of
" troops, no extraordinary wealth; we have tried
" their mode of fighting, and know their weak-
" ness. Their descendants, who under the names
" of Ionians, Æolians and Dorians, reside within
" our dominions, we first subdued, and now
" govern. Their prowess I myself have known,
" when at the command of your father I pro-
" secuted a war against them. I penetrated
" Macedonia, advanced almost to Athens, and
" found no enemy to encounter. Beside this,
" I am informed that in all their military under-
" takings, the Greeks betray the extremest igno-
" rance and folly. As soon as they commence
" hostilities among themselves, their first care is
" to find a large and beautiful plain [14], where

[14] *Plain.*]—The Romans, in attacking an enemy, so disposed their army, as to be able to rally three different times. This has been thought by many as the great secret of the Roman discipline; because fortune must have foiled their efforts three different times before they could be possibly defeated. The Greeks drew up their forces in one extended line, and therefore depended upon the effect of the first charge.—*T.*

" they appear and give battle: the consequence " is, that even the victors suffer severe loss; of " the vanquished I say nothing, for they are " totally destroyed. As they use one common " language, they ought in policy to terminate all " disputes by the mediation of ambassadors, and " above all things to avoid a war among them- " selves: or, if this should prove unavoidable, " they should mutually endeavour to find a place " of great natural strength, and then try the " issue of a battle. By pursuing as absurd a " conduct as I have described, the Greeks suf- " fered me to advance as far as Macedonia with- " out resistance. But who, Sir, shall oppose " you at the head of the forces and the fleet of " Asia? The Greeks, I think, never can be so " audacious. If however I should be deceived, " and they shall be so mad as to engage us, they " will soon find to their cost that in the art of " war we are the first of mankind. Let us how- " ever adopt various modes of proceeding, for " perfection and success can only be the result " of frequent experiment."—In this manner, Mardonius seconded the speech of Xerxes.

X. A total silence prevailed in the assembly, no one daring to oppose[15] what had been said;

[15] *Daring to oppose.*]—The following is from Ælian's Various History, book xii. c. 62.

" This was one of the Persian laws: if any one thought

till at length Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and uncle to Xerxes, deriving confidence from his relationship, thus delivered his sentiments: "Unless, O king, different sentiments be submitted to the judgment, no alternative of choice remains, the one introduced is of necessity adopted. The purity of gold cannot be ascertained by a single specimen; it is known and approved by comparing it with others. It was my advice to Darius, your father and my brother, that he should by no means undertake an expedition against the Scythians, a people without towns and cities. Allured by his hopes of subduing them, he disregarded my admonitions; and proceeding to execute his purpose was obliged to return, having lost numbers of his best troops. The men, O king, whom you are preparing to attack, are far superior to the Scythians, and alike formidable by land and sea. I deem it therefore my duty to forewarn you of the dangers you will have to encounter. You say that, throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, you will lead your forces through Europe into Greece; but it may pos-

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proper to give advice to the king about any thing which was forbidden, or ambiguous, he did so standing on a golden tile: if his advice appeared to be salutary, the gold tile was given him as a reward: he was nevertheless beaten for presuming to contradict the king. "But in my opinion," says Ælian, "a man of an ingenuous mind would never have submitted to the disgrace for the sake of the reward."—*T.*

" sibly happen, that either on land or by sea, or
" perhaps by both, you may sustain a defeat,
" for our enemies are reported to be valiant.
" Of this indeed we have had sufficient testi-
" mony; for if the Athenians by themselves
" routed the numerous armies of Datis and Ar-
" taphernes, it proves that we are not, either by
" land or sea, perfectly invincible. If, preparing
" their fleet, they shall be victorious by sea, and
" afterward sailing to the Hellespont, shall de-
" stroy your bridge, we may dread all that is
" bad. I do not argue in this respect from my
" own private conjecture; we can all of us
" remember how very narrowly we escaped de-
" struction, when your father, throwing bridges
" over the Thracian Bosphorus and the Ister,
" passed into Scythia. The guard of this pass
" was intrusted to the Ionians, whom the Scy-
" thians urged to break it down, by the most
" earnest importunity. If at this period His-
" tiæus of Miletus had not opposed the senti-
" ments of the rest, there would have been an
" end of the Persian name. It is painful to
" repeat, and afflicting to remember, that the
" safety of our prince and his dominions de-
" pended on a single man. Listen therefore to
" my advice, and where no necessity demands it,
" do not involve yourself in danger. For the pre-
" sent, dismiss this meeting; revolve the matter
" more seriously in your mind, and at a future

" and seasonable time make known your deter-
" mination. For my own part, I have found
" from experience, that deliberation produces the
" happiest effects. In such a case, if the event
" does not answer our wishes, we still merit
" the praise of discretion, and fortune is alone
" to be blamed. He who is rash and inconsi-
" derate, although fortune may be kind, and
" anticipate his desires, is not the less to be
" censured for temerity. You may have ob-
" served how the thunder-bolt of Heaven chas-
" tises the insolence of the more enormous ani-
" mals, whilst it passes over without injury
" the weak and insignificant: before these wea-
" pons of the gods you must have seen how the
" proudest palaces[16] and the loftiest trees fall
" and perish. The most conspicuous things are
" those which are chiefly singled out as objects
" of the divine displeasure. From the same

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[16] *Proudest Palaces.*]

Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.
Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus: et celsæ graviore casu.
Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes. *Hor.* l. ii. 10.

Artabanus may here be supposed to allude to the destruction of the army of Sennacherib by mice, as related in book ii.

" principle it is that a mighty army is some-
" times overthrown by one that is contemptible;
" for the Deity in his anger sends his terrors
" among them, and makes them perish in a
" manner unworthy of their former glory. Per-
" fect wisdom [17] is the prerogative of Heaven
" alone, and every measure undertaken with
" temerity is liable to be perplexed with error,
" and punished by misfortune. Discreet cau-
" tion, on the contrary, has many and peculiar
" advantages, which if not apparent at the mo-
" ment, reveal themselves in time. Such, O
" king, is my advice; and little does it become
" you, O son of Gobryas, to speak of the Greeks
" in a language foolish as well as false. By ca-
" lumniating Greece, you excite your sovereign
" to war, the great object of all your zeal: but
" I entreat you to forbear; calumny is a restless
" vice, where it is indulged there are always two
" who offer injury. The calumniator himself is
" injurious, because he traduces an absent per-

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[17] *Perfect wisdom.*]—The English reader may perhaps thank me for taking this opportunity of relating an anecdote of the celebrated Buffon, not generally known. That perfect wisdom is the attribute of Heaven only, no human being, we should suppose, would be inclined to controvert; yet Buffon, during his lifetime, suffered a statue to be erected to him with this remarkable inscription, MAJESTATI NATURÆ PAR INGENIUM, which can surely be applicable to the Deity alone.—*T.*

" son; he is also injurious who suffers himself " to be persuaded without investigating the " truth. The person traduced is doubly injured, " first by him who propagates, and secondly by " him who receives the calumny. If this war " be a measure of necessity, let it be prose- " cuted; but let the king remain at home with " his subjects. Suffer the children of us two " to remain in his power, as the test of our " different opinions; and do you, Mardonius, con- " duct the war with whatever forces you shall " think expedient. If, agreeably to your repre- " sentations, the designs of the king shall be " successful, let me and my children perish; but " if what I predict shall be accomplished, let " your children die, and yourself too, in case " you shall return. If you refuse these condi- " tions, and are still resolved to lead an army " into Greece, I do not hesitate to declare, that " all those who shall be left behind will hear " that Mardonius, after having involved the Per- " sians in some conspicuous calamity, became a " prey to dogs and ravenous birds, in the terri- " tories either of Athens or Lacedæmon, or pro- " bably during his march thither. Thus you will " know, by fatal experience, what those men are, " against whom you endeavour to persuade the " king to prosecute a war."

XI. When Artabanus had finished, Xerxes

thus angrily replied: "Artabanus, you are my "father's brother, which alone prevents your "receiving the chastisement due to your foolish "speech. This mark of ignominy shall however "adhere to you—as you are so dastardly and "mean, you shall not accompany me to Greece, "but remain at home, the companion of our "women. Without your assistance, I shall pro- "ceed in the accomplishment of my designs; "for I should ill deserve to be esteemed the son "of Darius[18], who was the son of Hystaspes, "and reckoned among his ancestors, Arsamis, "Arinnis, Teispeus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Teispeus, "and Achæmenes, if I did not gratify my re- "venge upon the Athenians. I am well as-

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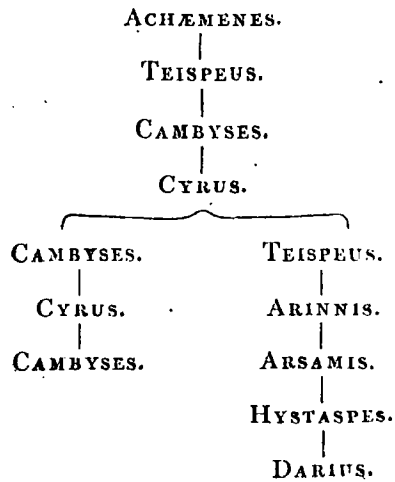
18 *Son of Darius.*]—The following was the genealogy of this family:



" sured that if we on our parts were tranquil,
" they would not, but would invade and ravage
" our country. This we may reasonably conclude
" from their burning of Sardis, and their incur-
" sions into Asia. Neither party can therefore
" recede; we must advance to the attack of the
" Greeks, or we must prepare to sustain theirs;
" we must either submit to them, or they to us;
" in enmities like these there can be no medium.
" Injured as we have been, it becomes us to seek
" for revenge; for I am determined to know what
" evil is to be dreaded from those whom Pelops
" the Phrygian, the slave of my ancestors, so
" effectually subdued, that even to this day they,
" as well as their country, are distinguished by
" his name."

XII. On the approach of evening the sentiments of Artabanus gave great disquietude to Xerxes, and after more serious deliberation with himself in the night, he found himself still less inclined to the Grecian war. Having decided on the subject, he fell asleep, when, as the Persians relate, the following vision appeared to him.—He dreamed that he saw before him a man of unusual size and beauty, who thus addressed him: " Are you then determined,
" O Persian, contrary to your former resolutions,
" not to lead an army against Greece, although

" you have ordered your subjects to prepare " their forces? This change in your sentiments " is absurd in itself, and will certainly be cen- " sured by the world. Resume, therefore, and " persist in what you had resolved by day." Having said this, the vision disappeared.

XIII. The impression made by the vision vanished with the morning. Xerxes a second time convoked the former meeting, and again addressed them: " Men of Persia," said he, " you " will forgive me, if my former sentiments are " changed. I am not yet arrived at the full " maturity of my judgment; and they who wish " me to prosecute the measures which I before " seemed to approve, do not remit their impor- " tunities. When I first heard the opinion of " Artabanus, I yielded to the emotions of youth, " and expressed myself more petulantly than was " becoming, to a man of his years. To prove that " I see my indiscretion, I am resolved to follow " his advice. It is not my intention to undertake " an expedition against Greece; remain therefore " in tranquillity."— The Persians, hearing these sentiments, prostrated themselves with joy before the king.

XIV. On the following night the same phantom appeared a second time to Xerxes in his sleep, and spake to him as follows: " Son of

" Darius, disregarding my admonitions as of no " weight or value, you have publicly renounced " all thoughts of war. Hear what I say: unless " you immediately undertake that which I recom- " mend, the same short period of time which has " seen you great and powerful, shall behold you " reduced and abject."

XV. Terrified at the vision, the king leaped from his couch, and sent for Artabanus. As soon as he approached, " Artabanus," exclaimed Xerxes, " in return for your salutary counsel, I " reproached and insulted you; but as soon as " I became master of myself I endeavoured to " prove my repentance, by adopting what you " proposed. This however, whatever may be " my wishes, I am unable to do. As soon as my " former determinations were changed, I beheld " in my sleep a vision, which first endeavoured " to dissuade me, and has this moment left me " with threats. If what I have seen proceed " from the interference of some deity, who is " solicitous that I should make war on Greece, " it will doubtless appear to you, and give you a " similar mandate. This will I think be the " case, if you will assume my habit, and after " sitting on my throne retire to rest in my " apartment."

XVI. Artabanus was at first unwilling to com-

ply, alleging that he was not worthy to sit on the throne of the king[19]. But being urged, he finally acquiesced, after thus expressing his sentiments: "I am of opinion, O king, that to think "well, and to follow what is well-advised, is "alike commendable[20]: both these qualities are "yours; but the artifice of evil counsellors mis-"leads you. Thus, the ocean is of itself most "useful to mankind, but the stormy winds ren-"der it injurious, by disturbing its natural sur-"face. Your reproaches gave me less uneasi-

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Of the king.]—To sit on the king's throne, was in Persia deemed a capital offence.

[20] *Alike commendable.*]—Larcher at this passage quotes the two following sentences, from Livy and from Cicero.

Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti obediat.

I have often heard, my fellow-soldiers, that he was first to be esteemed who gave advice suitable to the occasion; and that he deserved the second place who followed it.—*Liv.* xxii. 29.

Sapientissimum dicunt eum cui quod opus sit veniat in mentem, proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet.—Which passage of Cicero, pro Cluentio, may be rendered nearly the same as that from Livy. The sentiment is originally Hesiod's, and is by him beautifully expressed in his *Works and Days*, ver. 293. It has been imitated also by Sophocles, in his Antigone. The turn Cicero gives it is curious enough: "In folly," he says, "it is just the contrary, the greatest fool is he who thinks of an absurdity; the next he who adopts it." This is perfectly true.—*T.*

" ness than to see that when two opinions were
" submitted to public deliberation, the one aim-
" ing to restrain, the other to countenance the
" pride of Persia, you preferred that which was
" full of danger to yourself and your country,
" rejecting the wiser counsel, which pointed out
" the evil tendency of ambition. Now that you
" have changed your resolution with respect to
" Greece, a phantom has appeared, and, as you
" say, by some divine interposition, has forbidden
" your present purpose of dismissing your forces.
" But, my son, I dispute the divinity of this in-
" terposition, for of the fallacy of dreams I, who
" am more experienced than yourself, can pro-
" duce sufficient testimonies. Dreams in general
" originate from those incidents which have most
" occupied the thoughts during the day [21]. Two
" days since, you will remember, that this ex-
" pedition was the object of much warm discus-
" sion: but if this vision be really sent from
" Heaven, your reasoning upon it is just, and
" it will certainly appear to me as it has done
" to you, expressing itself to a similar effect;

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21 *During the day.*]—After all that has been said and written on the subject of dreams, I shall I hope be excused, when I confess that the following words of Mr. Locke are to me quite satisfactory on the subject.

" The dreams of sleeping men are all made up of the waking man's ideas, though for the most part oddly put together.—*T.*

" but it will not show itself to me dressed in your " robes, and reclining on your couch, sooner " than if I were in my own habit and my own " apartment. No change of dress will induce " the phantom, if it does appear, to mistake me " for you. If it shall hold me in contempt, it " will not appear to me, however I may be " clothed. It unquestionably however merits " attention; its repeated appearance I myself " must acknowledge to be a proof of its divinity. " If you are determined in your purpose, I am " ready to go to rest in your apartment: but " till I see the phantom myself I shall retain my " former opinions."

XVII. Artabanus, expecting to find the king's dream of no importance, did as he was ordered. He accordingly put on the robe of Xerxes, seated himself on the royal throne, and afterward retired to the king's apartment. The same phantom which had disturbed Xerxes appeared to him[22], and thus addressed him: " Art thou the " man who, pretending to watch over the con- " duct of Xerxes, art endeavouring to restrain " his designs against Greece? Your perverse-

[22] *Appeared to him.*]—Larcher reasonably supposes that this was a plot of Mardonius to impose on Xerxes; and that some person, dressed and disguised for the purpose, acted the part of the ghost.

" ness shall be punished both now and in future;
" and as for Xerxes himself, he has been fore-
" warned of the evils he will suffer, if disobedient
" to my will."

XVIII. Such were the threats which Artabanus heard from the spectre, which at the same time made an effort to burn out his eyes with a hot iron. Alarmed at his danger, Artabanus leaped from his couch, and uttering a loud cry, went instantly to Xerxes. After relating his vision, he thus spake to him: " Being a man, O
" king, of much experience, and having seen the
" undertakings of the powerful foiled by the
" efforts of the weak, I was unwilling that you
" should indulge the fervour of your age. Of
" the ill effects of inordinate ambition, I had
" seen a fatal proof, in the expedition which
" Cyrus undertook against the Massagetæ; I
" knew also what became of the army of Cam-
" byses in their attack of Æthiopia; and lastly,
" I myself witnessed the misfortunes of Darius,
" in his hostilities with the Scythians. The re-
" membrance of these incidents induced me to
" believe that if you continued a peaceful reign,
" you would beyond all men deserve the cha-
" racter of happy: but as your present incli-
" nation seems directed by some supernatural
" influence, and as the Greeks seem marked out
" by Heaven for destruction, I acknowledge that

" my sentiments are changed; do you therefore " make known to the Persians the extraordinary " intimations you have received, and direct your " dependants to hasten the preparations you had " before commanded. Be careful, in what re- " lates to yourself, to second the intentions of " the gods."—The vision indeed had so powerfully impressed the minds of both, that as soon as the morning appeared, Xerxes communicated his intentions to the Persians; which Artabanus, in opposition to his former sentiments, now openly and warmly approved.

XIX. Whilst every thing was making ready for his departure, Xerxes saw a third vision. The magi to whom it was related were of opinion, that it portended to Xerxes, unlimited and universal empire. The king conceived himself to be crowned with the wreath of an olive-tree, whose branches covered all the earth, but that this wreath suddenly and totally disappeared. After the above interpretation of the magi had been made known in the national assembly of the Persians, the governors departed to their several provinces, eager to execute the commands they had received, in expectation of the promised reward.

XX. Xerxes was so anxious to complete his levies, that no part of the continent was left

without being ransacked for this purpose. After the reduction of Ægypt, four entire years were employed in assembling the army and collecting provisions; but in the beginning of the fifth[23] he began his march, with an immense body of forces. Of all the military expeditions, the fame of which has come down to us, this was far the greatest, much exceeding that which Darius undertook against Scythia, as well as the incursion made by the Scythians, who pursuing the Cimmerians, entered Media, and made themselves entire masters of almost all the higher parts of Asia; an incursion which afforded Darius the pretence for his attack on Scythia. It surpasses also the famous expedition of the sons of Atreus against Troy, as well as that of the Mysians and Teucrians before the Trojan war. These nations, passing over the Bosphorus into Europe, reduced all the inhabitants of Thrace, advancing to the Ionian sea, and thence as far as the southern part of the river Peneus.

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[23] *Beginning of the fifth.*]—Darius was three years in preparing for an expedition against Greece; in the fourth Ægypt revolted, and in the following year Darius died; this therefore was the fifth year after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes employed four years in making preparations for the same purpose; in the fifth he began his march, he advanced to Sardis, and there wintered; in the beginning of the following spring he entered Greece. This therefore was in the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon; which account agrees with that given by Thucydides.—*T.*

XXI. None of the expeditions already mentioned, nor indeed any other, may at all be compared with this of Xerxes *. It would be difficult to specify any nation of Asia, which did not accompany the Persian monarch against Greece, or any waters, except great rivers, which were not exhausted by his armies. Some supplied ships, some a body of infantry, others of horse; some provided transports for the cavalry and the troops; others brought long ships to serve as bridges; many also brought vessels laden with corn, all which preparations were made for three years, to guard against a repetition of the calamities which the Persian fleet had formerly sustained in their attempts to double the promontory of Mount Athos. The place of rendezvous for the triremes was at Elæos of the Chersonese, from whence detachments from the army were sent, and by force of blows compelled to dig a passage through Mount Athos [24], with orders

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* This expedition of Xerxes against Greece, observes Larcher, was foretold by the prophet Daniel 80 years before it took place.—See Daniel, c. xi. v. 2.

"Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."

24 *Through Mount Athos.*]—This incident Mr. Richardson conceives to be utterly incredible. This promontory was, as he justly remarks, no more than 200 miles from Athens: and

to relieve each other at certain regular intervals. The undertaking was assisted by those who inhabited the mountain, and the conduct of the work was confided to Bubaris, the son of Megabyzus, and Antachæus, son of Artæus, both of whom were Persians.

XXII. Athos is a large and noble mountain, projecting into the sea, and inhabited; where it terminates on the land side, it has the appearance of a peninsula, and forms an isthmus of about twelve stadia in breadth: the surface of this is interspersed with several small hills, reaching from the Acanthian sea to that of Torone [25], which is opposite. Where Mount Athos terminates, stands

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yet Xerxes is said to have employed a number of men, three years before his crossing the Hellespont, to separate it from the continent, and make a canal for his shipping. Themistocles also, who from the time of the battle of Marathon had been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion, never endeavoured to support his opinion by any allusion to this canal, the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation.—See Richardson farther on this subject, Dissertation, p. 312. Pococke, who visited Mount Athos, deems also the event highly improbable, and says that he could not perceive the smallest vestige of any such undertaking.—*T.*

[25] *Torone.*]—There were two places of this name, one on the coast of Epirus, the other this bay in Macedonia, where the roaring of the sea was so loud, that the expression *surdor Toronæo ponto*, became proverbial.—*T.*

a Grecian city, called Sana; in the interior parts, betwixt Sana and the elevation of Athos, are situated the towns of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssum, and Cleonæ, inhabited by Greeks. It was the object of the Persians to detach these from the continent.

XXIII. They proceeded to dig in this manner: the Barbarians marked out the ground in the vicinity of Sana with a rope, assigning to each nation their particular station; then sinking a deep trench, whilst they at the bottom continued digging, the nearest to them handed the earth to others standing immediately above them upon ladders; it was thus progressively elevated, till it came to the summit, where they who stood received and carried it away. The brink of the trench giving way, except in that part where the Phœnicians were employed, occasioned a double labour; and this, as the trench was no wider at top than at bottom, was unavoidable. But in this, as in other instances, the Phœnicians discovered their superior sagacity, for in the part allotted to them they commenced by making the breadth of the trench twice as large as was necessary; and thus proceeding in an inclined direction, they made their work at the bottom of the prescribed dimensions. In this part was a meadow, which was their public place for busi-

ness and for commerce, and where a vast quantity of corn was imported from Asia.

XXIV. The motive of Xerxes in this work [26] was, as far as I am able to conjecture, the vain desire of exhibiting his power, and of leaving a monument to posterity. When with very little trouble he might have transported his vessels over the isthmus, he chose rather to unite the two seas by a canal, of sufficient diameter to admit two triremes abreast. Those employed in this business were also ordered to throw bridges over the river Strymon.

XXV. For these bridges Xerxes provided cordage made of the bark [27] of the biblos, and of

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[26] *In this work.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise de Ira cohibenda, has preserved a ridiculous letter, supposed to have been written by Xerxes to mount Athos. It was to this effect: "O thou miserable Athos, whose top now reaches to the heavens, I give thee in charge not to throw any great stones in my way, which may impede my work; if thou shalt do this, I will cut thee in pieces and cast thee into the sea."

This threat to the mountain is however at least as sensible as the chastisement inflicted upon the Hellespont; so that if one anecdotebe true, the other may also obtain credit.—*T.*

[27] *Of the bark.*]—The Indians make very strong cordage of the bark of the cocoa-tree. The English word *cordage* comes from the Greek word χορδη, chorde, a kind of gut of which cord was made.—*T.*

white flax. The care of transporting provisions for the army, was committed jointly to the Ægyptians and Phœnicians, that the troops, as well as the beasts of burden, in this expedition to Greece, might not suffer from famine. After examining into the nature of the country, he directed stores to be deposited in every convenient situation, which were supplied by transports and vessels of burden, from the different parts of Asia. Of these, the greater number were carried to that part of Thrace which is called the "White Coast;" others to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians; the remainder were severally distributed at Doriscus, at Eïon on the banks of the Strymon, and in Macedonia.

XXVI. Whilst these things were carrying on, Xerxes, at the head of all his land forces, left Critalis* in Cappadocia, and marched towards Sardis: it was at Critalis that all those troops were appointed to assemble who were to attend the king by land; who the commander was, that received from the king the promised gifts, on account of the number and goodness of his troops, I am unable to decide, nor indeed can I say whether there was any competition on the sub-

* This place is not known to us, but probably it was near Ereckli, which was the Archelais Colonia of the Romans.

ject. Passing the river Halys[28], they came to Phrygia, and continuing to advance, arrived at Celænæ, where are the fountains of the Mæander, as well as those of another river of equal size with the Mæander, called Catarracte, which rising in the public square of Celænæ, empties itself into the Mæander. In the forum of this city is suspended the skin of Marsyas[29], which the Phrygians say was placed there after he had been flayed by Apollo.

XXVII. In this city lived a man named Pythius, son of Atys, a native of Lydia, who entertained Xerxes and all his army with great magnificence: he farther engaged to supply the

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[28] *Halys.*]—If the reader will be pleased to remember, that Herodotus makes the river Halys the boundary of the kingdoms of Cyrus and Crœsus, it may lead to some interesting and useful reflections on the progress of ambition, and the fate of empires.—*T.*

[29] *Marsyas.*]—This story must be sufficiently familiar; see Ovid. Metamorph. l. vi. 382.

The punishment of Marsyas, says Licetus, was only an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre, the flute was the first of all musical instruments; after the introduction of the lyre the flute came into disrepute, and nothing was to be gained by excelling on it. Pausanias, describing one of the pictures of Polygnotus, in his book of the Territories of Phocis, says, that in one of the temples of Delphi was a picture, which contained, amongst other figures, Marsyas sitting upon a rock, and the youth Olympus by him, who seems to be learning to play on the flute.—*T.*

king with money for the war. Xerxes was on this induced to inquire of his Persian attendants who this Pythius was, and what were the resources which enabled him to make these offers: "It is the same," they replied, "who presented "your father Darius with a plane-tree and a vine "of gold, and who, next to yourself, is the richest "of mankind [30]."

30 *Richest of mankind.*]—Many wonderful anecdotes are related of the riches of individuals in more ancient times; among which this does not seem to be the least marvellous. The sum of which Pythius is said to have been possessed amounted to five millions and a half of our sterling money: this is according to the estimate of Prideaux; that given by Montfaucon differs essentially. "The denii," says this last writer, "weighed eight modern louis-d'ors." Therefore Pythius possessed thirty-two millions of louis-d'ors. If so great then was the wealth of a single dependant on the sovereign of Persia, what must have been the riches of all the satraps, princes, nobility, &c. collectively?

Montfaucon, relating the story of Pythius, adds these reflections:

"A man might in those days safely be rich, provided he obtained his riches honestly; and how great must have been the circulation in commerce, if a private man could amass so prodigious a sum!" The wealth which the Roman Crassus possessed was not much inferior; when he had consecrated a tenth of his property to Hercules, and at ten thousand tables feasted all the people of Rome, beside giving as much corn to every citizen as was sufficient to last him three months, he found himself still possessed of 7100 Roman talents, equivalent to a million and a half of our money. The gold which Solomon employed in overlaying the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, which was no more than thirty feet square, and thirty feet high, amounted to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The gold which he

XXVIII. These last words filled Xerxes with astonishment; and he could not refrain from asking Pythius himself the amount of his wealth: "Sir," he replied, "I conceal nothing from you, "nor affect ignorance; but as I am able I will "fairly tell you.—As soon as I heard of your "approach to the Grecian sea, I was desirous of "giving you money for the war; on examining "into the state of my affairs, I found that I "was possessed of two thousand talents of silver, "and four millions, wanting only seven thousand, "of gold staters of Darius; all this I give you— "my slaves and my farms will be sufficient to "maintain me."

XXIX. "My Lydian friend," returned Xerxes, much delighted, "since I first left Persia, "you are the only person who has treated my "army with hospitality, or who appearing in "my presence, has voluntarily offered me a "supply for the war: you have done both; "in acknowledgment for which I offer you my

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had in one year from Ophir was equal to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds; his annual tribute in gold, beside silver, was four millions seven hundred ninety-five thousand two hundred pounds. Lucullus, the Roman senator, whenever he supped in his room called the Apollo, expended fifty thousand Roman denarii, nearly equal to fifteen hundred pounds. See Plutarch, Montfaucon, and Prideaux. This story is related differently in Plutarch's treatise de Virtutibus Mulierum.—*T.*

"friendship; you shall be my host, and I will "give you the seven thousand staters, which "are wanting to make your sum of four mil- "lions complete.—Retain, therefore, and enjoy "your property; persevere in your present mode "of conduct, which will invariably operate to "your happiness."

XXX. Xerxes having performed what he promised, proceeded on his march; passing by a Phrygian city, called Anaua, and a lake from which salt is made, he came to Colossæ[31]. This also is a city of Phrygia, and of considerable eminence; here the Lycus disappears, entering abruptly a chasm in the earth, but at the distance of seven stadia it again emerges, and continues its course to the Mæander. The Persian army, advancing from Colossæ, came to Cydrara, a place on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia; here a pillar had been erected by Crœsus, with an inscription defining the boundaries of the two countries.

XXXI. On entering Lydia from Phrygia they came to a place where two roads met, the one on the left leading to Caria, the other on the right to Sardis: to those who go by the latter it is

31 *Colossæ*—or Colossis, a town of Phrygia, near Laodicea, on the confines of Caria. This place is memorable in Scripture, on account of the epistle addressed by St. Paul to its inhabitants.—*T.*

necessary to cross the Mæander, and to pass Callatebus, a city where honey is made of the tamarisk and wheat. Xerxes here found a plane-tree *, so very beautiful, that he adorned it with chains of gold, and assigned the guard of it [32] to one of the immortal band [33]; the next day he came to the principal city of the Lydians.

XXXII. When arrived at Sardis, his first step was to send heralds into Greece, demanding earth and water, and commanding preparations should be made to entertain him. He did not, however, send either to Athens or Lacedæmon: his motive for repeating the demand to the other cities, was, the expectation that they who had before refused earth and water to Darius, would, from

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* The plane-tree, one of the noblest and loftiest that grew, was naturally venerated by the Orientals for its broad and luxuriant shade: the philosopher instructed his pupils beneath its branches, and the bacchanalian here held his revels.

32 *The guard of it.*]—This caprice of Xerxes is ridiculed by Ælian, l. ii. c. 14, but with no great point or humour. He remarks, that the beauty of a tree consists in its firm root, its spreading branches, its thick leaves, but that the bracelets of Xerxes, and gold of Barbarians, would certainly be no addition to its excellence.

Ælian here talks like a miserable pedant. Xerxes appears in this passage to have been a lover of natural beauty, and a fine tree was preserved by his precaution.—This trait does him honour.—*T.*

33 *Immortal band.*]—See on this subject, chapter 83.

their alarm at his approach, send it now; this he wished positively to know.

XXXIII. Whilst he was preparing to go to Abydos, numbers were employed in throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, from Asia to Europe; betwixt Sestos and Madytus, in the Chersonese of the Hellespont, the coast toward the sea from Abydos is rough and woody. After this period, and at no remote interval of time, Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, and commander of the Athenians, in this place took Antayctes, a Persian, and governor of Sestos, prisoner; he was crucified alive: he had formerly carried some females to the temple of Protesilaus in Elæos, and perpetrated what is detestable*.

XXXIV. They on whom the office was imposed proceeded in the work of the bridge, commencing at the side next Abydos. The Phœnicians used a cordage made of linen, the Ægyptians the bark of the biblos: from Abydos to the opposite continent is a space of seven stadia [34]. The

* See the story circumstantially related, book 9. l. 116.

[34] *Seven stadia.*]—The Hellespont was so called by the ancients because Helle, attempting to swim over here, on the ram with the golden fleece, was drowned. The Europeans call it the Dardanelles, as well as the castles about the middle of it; the Turks give it the name of Bogas (the mouth or

bridge was no sooner completed, than a great tempest arose, which tore in pieces and destroyed the whole of their labour.

XXXV. When Xerxes heard of what had happened, he was so enraged, that he ordered three hundred lashes to be inflicted [35] on the

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entrance.) The entrance to the Dardanelles is now to be computed from the Asia light-house, about a league without Lamsac, and from the Europe light-house, half a league to the north of Gallipoli; the whole length is about twenty-six miles: the broadest part is not computed to be above four miles over, though at Gallipoli it was judged by the ancients to be five miles, and from Sestos to Abydos only seven stadia. —*Pococke.*

On a reconnu dans ces derniers temps que ce trajet, le plus resserré de tout le detroit, n'est que d'environ 375 toises ½, les ponts ayant 7 stades de longueur; M. d'Anville en a conclu que ces stades n'étoient que de 51 toises.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

Major Rennell is of opinion that D'Anville erred very much in the scale of his stade in this place;—(the 375½ toises should be 357½.) All accounts seem to agree that the Hellespont, at the narrowest part, was the best part of a mile in breadth.

[35] *To be inflicted.*]—Juvenal makes a happy use of this historical anecdote; Sat. x. 179.

> Ille tamen (Xerxes) qualis rediit Salamine relictâ
> In Corum atque Eurum solitus sævire flagellis.
> Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,
> Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum
> Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
> Credidit.

Of

Hellespont, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea. I have been informed that he even sent some executioners to brand the Hellespont with marks of ignominy; but it is certain, that he ordered those who inflicted the lashes to use these barbarous and mad expressions: "Thou ungracious water, thy master condemns thee to this punishment for having injured him without provocation. Xerxes the king will pass over thee, whether thou consentest or not: just is it that no man honours thee with sacrifice, for thou art insidious, and of an ungrateful flavour." After thus treating the sea, the king commanded those who presided over the construction of the bridge to be beheaded.

XXXVI. These commands were executed by those on whom that unpleasing office was conferred. A bridge was then constructed by a different set of architects, who performed it in the

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Of which lines this is Dryden's translation:

> But how did he return this haughty brave,
> Who whipt the winds, and made the sea his slave?
> Tho' Neptune took unkindly to be bound,
> And Eurus never such hard usage found
> In his Æolian prison under ground.

The reader will observe that the more pointed part of the passage is totally omitted by Dryden.—Gifford is far more successful.—*T.*

following manner: they connected together ships of different kinds, some long vessels of fifty oars, others three-banked gallies, to the number of three hundred and sixty on the side towards the Euxine sea, and three hundred and thirteen on that of the Hellespont[36]. The former of

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[36] *On that of the Hellespont.*]—It seems a matter of certainty that these numbers must be erroneous.—Vessels placed transversely must reach to a much greater extent than the same number placed side by side; yet here the greater number of ships is stated to have been on the side where they were arranged transversely, that is, across the channel, with their broadsides to the stream. What the true numbers were it is vain to conjecture, it is sufficient to have pointed out that the present must be wrong.—*T.*

Since the Hellespont, in the neighbourhood of Abydos, has a very considerable bend, in its course, first running northward from Abydos towards Sestos, and then taking a pretty sharp turn to the *eastward*, may it not have been, that the two lines of ships were disposed on different sides of the *angle* just mentioned, by which it might truly be said, that the ships in one line presented their *heads* to the Euxine, the other their *sides*, although the heads of both were presented to the current? The different numbers in the two lines, certainly indicate *different breadths* of the strait, which can only be accounted for by their being at some distance from each other: for it cannot be supposed that the line was placed obliquely across the strait.

The cables extended from each shore appear to have been for the sole purpose of supporting the *bridgeways*. The ships were kept in their places by anchors ahead and astern; by the lateral pressure of each other, and by side-fastenings.—*Rennell*, page 126.

The reader will do well to consult what Larcher observes

these were placed transversely, but the latter, to diminish the strain upon the cables, in the direction of the current. When these vessels were firmly connected to each other, they were secured on each side by anchors of great length; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine; on the lower, toward the Ægean sea, on account of the south and south-east winds[37]. They left however openings in three places, sufficient to afford a passage for light vessels, which might have occasion to sail

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in opposition to the above reasoning; but after all, the subject of the bridges must still remain involved in great doubt and perplexity.

[37] *The south and south-east winds.*]—At first sight it appears that the west winds were most to be dreaded on that side; but the western side of the channel is sheltered by the shore of the Chersonese, and it turns in such a manner, as to bring the south-east winds, as well as the south, to act against that side. It seems extraordinary that no mention is here made of the current, as making anchors necessary on the upper side. I am tempted to think that some words expressing that circumstance have been lost from the text: we might perhaps read *της ῥοης, καὶ των ανεμων εινεκα*, instead of *της ἑτερης, των ανεμων*: the first *της ἑτερης* being not necessary to the construction, though very consistent with it. I conceive each range of vessels to have been secured by anchors above and below, the transverse ships having them from each side, those placed with the current, at head and stern, so that there were in all four sets of anchors: or, perhaps, the cables extended from shore to shore secured each range of vessels on the inner side; if so, there would be only two sets of anchors, one from the upper sides of the transverse ships, the other from one end of those which lay side by side.—*T.*

into the Euxine or from it: having performed this, they extended cables from the shore[38], stretching them upon large capstans of wood; for this purpose they did not employ a number of separate cables, but united two of white flax with four of biblos. These were alike in thickness, and apparently so in goodness, but those of flax were in proportion much the more solid, weighing not less than a talent to every cubit. When the pass was thus secured, they sawed out rafters of wood, making their length equal to the space required for the bridge; these they laid in order across upon the extended cables, and then bound them fast together. They next brought unwrought wood, which they placed very regularly upon the rafters; over all they threw earth, which they raised to a proper height, and finished all by a fence on each side, that the horses and other beasts of burden might not be terrified by looking down upon the sea.

XXXVII. The bridges were at length com-

[38] *Extended cables from the shore.*]—That is, from shore to shore, and doubtless within each range of ships, at such a distance from each other as to be of a convenient breadth for the bridge; thus the ships served as piers to support the weight, and the cables resting on the vessels, or something projecting from them, formed the foundation for the road by which the army was to pass.

It may, perhaps, be thought singular by some, that no opposition to fixing the bridge was made on the European side, which of course must have been in the power of the Greeks.

pleted, and the work at Mount Athos finished: to prevent the canal at this last place being choked up by the flow of the tides, deep trenches were sunk at its mouth. The army had wintered at Sardis, but on receiving intelligence of the above, they marched at the commencement of the spring for Abydos. At the moment of their departure, the sun, which before gave his full light, in a bright unclouded atmosphere, withdrew his beams, and the darkest night succeeded*. Xerxes, alarmed

* This is supposed by many to have been owing to an eclipse of the sun happening at this time; if so, the period of the expedition is precisely determined: for it is found on computation that the only eclipse within the compass of eight years, which was total at Sardis, in the beginning of Spring, was one which took place on February the 17th, 478 years before Christ. This Kepler has observed, Astron. part. Optic. page 219; and it has since been proved, by Costard, in a Dissertation on the use of Astronomy in History and Chronology, 4to. 1765, pages 14, 23, which is two years later than chronologers in general assign for this arrival of Xerxes in Asia. This is further confirmed by allowing thirty-six years to the reign of Darius, according to Herodotus, see chap. iv. of this book, by the Ptolemaic Canon, and by Manetho, which brings the commencement of the reign of Xerxes to the 484th year before Christ, and this expedition, which was in the seventh year of Xerxes, to the 478th year before Christ.

I shall take this opportunity of making remarks on the eclipse mentioned by Herodotus, in the 74th chapter of the first book, as being foretold by Thales the Milesian. That eclipse is assigned by different authors to different years; it is fixed by Riccioli to the year 585 before Christ, from a passage in Theon, and another in Cleomedes.

But

at this incident, consulted the magi upon what it might portend. They replied, that the protection of Heaven was withdrawn from the Greeks;

But as the place of observation, in both these authors, seems to have been Alexandria in Egypt, it must have been after that city was built; consequently we may presume that it was observed by Hipparchus himself, and therefore could not have been the eclipse foretold by Thales. In Egypt it was only five digits; and if it was total on the banks of the Hellespont, as Theon said it was, there is no reason to suppose that the battle between the Lydians and the Medes was fought there: it was rather on the confines of the two kingdoms, to the east of Alexandria, in a more southern longitude and latitude, and the eclipse could not have been total; Sir Isaac Newton appears in this instance to have followed others, rather than to have adopted it after an examination of his own. Usher places it a. p. Jul. 4113 before Christ, 601 Olymp. 44. 4. July 20th, 34, 25 before noon; digits eclipsed, nine. The former eclipse of Riccioli at Sardis took place in May, at six in the afternoon, too late in the day to be visible. This of Usher must have produced too little effect, to turn day into night, as Herodotus says it did.

Hardouin Chron. of the Old Testament, places it before Christ 597; a. p. Jul. 4117, on Wednesday July 9th, at six in the morning, and says that the battle was fought not in the reign of Cyaxares, but in that of Astyages, not in the fourth year of the Olympiad, but a month before it began. According to Dr. Halley's Tables, the apparent time of the true conjunction at Greenwich was July the 8th 21° 50′ 9″ and therefore could not have been large enough at Sardis to answer the description of Herodotus.

But in the year before Christ 603, per. Jul. 4111, an eclipse will be found by good tables, which is entirely satisfactory, when the apparent time of the true conjunction at Greenwich, was May 17th, 20° 42′ 19.″—See Costard's

the sun, they observed, was the tutelar divinity of Greece, as the moon was of Persia[39]. The answer was so satisfactory to Xerxes, that he proceeded with increased alacrity.

XXXVIII. During the march, Pythius the Lydian, who was much intimidated by the prodigy which had appeared, went to the king; deriving confidence from the liberality he had shown and received, he thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "I entreat a favour no less trifling to you, "than important to myself." Xerxes, not imagining what he was about to ask, promised to grant it, and desired to know what he would have. Pythius on this became still more bold: "Sir," he returned, "I have five sons, who are all with "you in this Grecian expedition; I would entreat "you to pity my age, and dispense with the pre-"sence of the eldest. Take with you the four "others, but leave this to manage my affairs; so

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Letter to Dr. Bevis, in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 48, part 1, for the year 1753.—As far as modern maps can be depended upon, the centre of the shadow passed over the kingdom of Barca and Africa, crossed the Mediterranean between Candia and Cyprus, and then over Antiochette, and to Cryroum, and a little to the south of Kars.

39 *The moon was of Persia.*]—Several of the Oriental nations worshipped the moon as a divinity. The Jews were reproved for doing this by the prophet Jeremiah; see chap. xliv. 17.

"Let us sacrifice to the queen of heaven, and pour out our drink-offerings unto her," &c.—*T.*

" may you return in safety, after the accomplish-
" ment of your wishes."

XXXIX. Xerxes, in great indignation [40], made this reply: " Infamous man! you see me " embark my all in this Grecian war; myself, " my children, my brothers, my domestics, and " my friends; how dare you then presume to " mention your son, you who are my slave, and " whose duty it is to accompany me on this oc-" casion, with all your family, and even your " wife [41]?—Remember this, the spirit of a man

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40 *Great indignation.*]—No two characters could well afford a more striking contrast to each other, than those of Darius and Xerxes: that of Darius was on various occasions marked by the tenderest humanity; it is unnecessary to specify any, as numerous instances occur in the course of this work. Xerxes, on the contrary, was insolent, imperious, and unfeeling; and, viewing the whole of his conduct, we are at a loss which to reprobate most, his want of sagacity, of true courage, or of real sensibility. The example before us, as we have nothing on record of the softer or more amiable kind to contrast it with, as it was not only unprovoked, but as the unsolicited liberality of Pythius demanded a very different return, we are compelled to consign it to everlasting infamy, as an act of consummate meanness and brutality.—*T.*

It can only be palliated by the idea that Xerxes was compelled to an act of severity to prevent discontents in his army.—The politics of Herodotus is hitherto an untouched subject.

41 *Even your wife.*]—This expression may at first sight appear a little singular; its apparent absurdity vanishes, when we take into consideration the jealous care with which the Orientals have in all ages secluded their women from the public eye.—*T.*

" resides in his ears: when he hears what is agree-
" able to him, the pleasure diffuses itself over all
" his body; but when the contrary happens, he is
" anxious and uneasy. If your former conduct
" was good, and your promises yet better, you
" still cannot boast of having surpassed the king
" in liberality. Although your present behaviour
" is base and insolent, you shall be punished
" less severely than you deserve: your former
" hospitality preserves yourself and four of your
" children; the fifth, whom you most regard,
" shall pay the penalty of your crime." As soon as he had finished, the king commanded the proper officers to find the eldest son of Pythius, and divide his body in two; he then ordered one part of the body to be thrown on the right side of the road, the other on the left, whilst the army continued their march betwixt them.

XL. The march was conducted in the following order: first of all went those who had the care of the baggage; they were followed by a promiscuous body of strangers of all nations, without any regularity, but to the amount of more than half the army; after these was a considerable interval, for these did not join the troops where the king was; next came a thousand horse, the flower of the Persian army, who were followed by the same number of spear-men, in like manner selected, trailing their pikes upon

the ground; behind these were ten sacred horses called Nisæan[42], with very superb trappings (they take their name from a certain district in Media, called Nisæus, remarkable for producing horses of an extraordinary size); the sacred car of Jupiter was next in the procession, it was drawn by eight white horses, behind which, on foot, was the charioteer, with the reins in his hands, for no mortal is permitted to sit in this car; then came Xerxes himself, in a chariot[43] drawn by Nisæan horses; by his side sate his charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes the Persian.

XLI. Such was the order in which Xerxes departed from Sardis; but as often as occasion required, he left his chariot for a common carriage[44]. A thousand of the first and noblest

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42 *Nisæan.*]—Suidas says, that these horses were also remarkable for their swiftness; see article Νισαιον.—*T.*

43 *In a chariot.*]—The curious reader will find all the different kinds of ancient chariots, and other carriages, enumerated and explained in Montfaucon's Antiquities.—*T.*

44 *Common carriage.*]—Of the Harmamaxe Larcher remarks, that it was a carriage appropriated to females. The Greek carriages were distinguished by the different names of αρμα, αμαξα, and οχημα.

"The first heroes," says Lucretius, "were mounted on horses, for chariots were a more modern invention."—See book v.

Et

Persians attended his person, bearing their spears according to the custom of their country; and a thousand horse, selected like the former, immediately succeeded. A body of ten thousand chosen infantry came next; a thousand of these had at the extremity of their spears a pomegranate of gold, the remaining nine thousand, whom the former enclosed, had in the same manner pomegranates of silver. They who preceded Xerxes, and trailed their spears, had their arms decorated with gold: they who followed him had, as we have described, golden pomegranates: these ten thousand foot were followed by an equal number of Persian cavalry; at an interval of about two furlongs, followed a numerous, irregular, and promiscuous multitude.

XLII. From Lydia the army continued its march along the banks of the Caïcus, to Mysia, and leaving mount Canæ on the left, proceeded though Atarnis to the city Carina. Moving

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Et prius est reppertum in equi conscendere costas,
Et moderanter hunc frænis dextraque vigere
Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.

Mounted on well-rein'd steeds, in ancient time,
Before the use of chariots was brought in,
The first brave heroes fought.

See also Potter's Antiquities of Greece, on the Grecian chariots.—*T.*

hence over the plains of Thebes, and passing by Adramythium and Antandros, a Pelasgian city, they left mount Ida to the left, and entered the district of Ilium. In the very first night which they passed under Ida, a furious storm of thunder and lightning arose, which destroyed numbers of the troops. From hence they advanced to the Scamander[45]; this river first of all, after their departure from Sardis, failed in supplying them with a quantity of water sufficient for their troops and beasts of burden.

XLIII. On his arrival at this river, Xerxes ascended the citadel of Priam, desirous of examining the place. Having surveyed it attentively, and satisfied himself concerning it, he ordered a thousand oxen to be sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva[46]; at the same time, the magi

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[45] *Scamander.*]—See Homer:

Ὀν Ξανθον καλεουσι θεοι, ανδρες δε Σκαμανδρον.

Which the gods call Xanthus, mortals Scamander.

[46] *Trojan Minerva.*]—The temple of the Trojan Minerva was in the citadel. The story of the Palladium, how essential it was deemed to the preservation of Troy, and how it was surreptitiously removed by Diomede and Ulysses, must be sufficiently known. See in particular the speech of Ulysses, in the 13th book of the Metamorphoses:

Quam rapui Phrygiæ signum penetrale Minervæ
Hostibus e mediis et se mihi comparat Ajax?

Nempe

directed libations to be offered to the manes of the heroes; when this was done, a panic spread itself in the night through the army. At the dawn of morning they moved forward, leaving to the left the towns of Rhœtion, Ophryneon, and Dardanus, which last is very near Abydos: the Gergithæ and Teucri were to their right.

XLIV. On their arrival at Abydos, Xerxes desired to take a survey of all his army: the inhabitants had, at his previous desire, constructed for him, on an eminence, a seat of white marble; upon this he sat, and directing his eyes to the shore, beheld at one view, his land and sea forces. He next wished to see a naval combat[47]; one

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Nempe capi Trojam prohibebant fata sine illo.
* * * * * *
Verum etiam summas arces intrare, suâque
Eripere æde deam, &c.

Alexander the Great, when he visited Troy, did not omit offering sacrifice to the Trojan Minerva.—*T.*

Since the first edition of this work appeared, the existence of Troy has been disputed.—But the single fact which is here related, is one which all the learning and acuteness of Bryant is not able to invalidate.

[47] *Naval combat.*]—The Naumachiæ constituted one of the grandest of the Roman shows, and were first exhibited at the end of the first Punic war: they were originally intended to improve the Romans in naval discipline; but in more luxurious times they were never displayed from this motive, but to indulge private ostentation, or the public curiosity.

was accordingly exhibited before him, in which the Phœnicians of Sidon were victorious. The view of this contest, as well as of the number of his forces, delighted Xerxes exceedingly.

XLV. When the king beheld all the Hellespont crowded with ships, and all the shore, with the plains of Abydos, covered with his troops, he at first congratulated himself as happy, but he afterward burst into tears [48].

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[48] *Into tears.*]—

As down
Th' immeasurable ranks his sight was lost,
A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind;
While this reflection fill'd his eyes with tears—
That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
Not one among those millions should survive.
Whence, to obscure thy pride, arose that cloud?
Was it that once humanity could touch
A tyrant's breast? Or rather did thy soul
Repine, O Xerxes, at the bitter thought
That all thy power was mortal? *Glover's Leonidas.*

Seneca justly points out the inconsistency of these tears: "The very man," says he, "who shed them was about to precipitate their fate, losing some by land, some by sea, some in battle, some in flight, in a word destroying within a very little space of time that multitude, whose death within a hundred years he now appeared to dread."—*De Brev. Vitæ*, c. xvii.—He also assigns, as the truer cause of his regret, the idea which concludes the above citation from Glover. Rollin has expressed the thought of Seneca with some improvement: "He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon him-

XLVI. Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, who with so much freedom had at first opposed the expedition against Greece, observed the king's emotion: "How different, Sir," said he, addressing him, "is your present behaviour, from "what it was a few minutes since! you then "esteemed yourself happy, you now are dissolved "in tears." "My reflection," answered Xerxes, "on the transitory period of human life, excited "my compassion for this vast multitude, not one "of whom will complete the term of an hundred "years!" "This," returned Artabanus, "is "not to be reckoned the greatest calamity to "which human beings are exposed; for, short as "life is, there is no one in this multitude, nor "indeed in the universe, who has been so truly "happy, as not repeatedly to have desired death "rather than life. The oppressions of misfor-"tune, and the pangs of disease, render the short "hours of life, tedious and painful: death thus "becomes the most delightful refuge of the un-"fortunate; and perhaps the invidiousness of the "deity is most apparent, by the very pleasures "we are suffered to enjoy."

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self, and considered the reproaches he deserved, for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war." The younger Pliny rather justifies his tears, *Ep.* iii. 7.—*T.*

XLVII. "Artabanus," replied Xerxes, "human life is what you represent it; but we will "omit reflecting upon what fills us with uneasiness, and enjoy the pleasures which are before "us: rather tell me, has the vision which you "saw impressed full conviction on your mind, "or do your former sentiments incline you to "dissuade me from this Grecian war?—speak "without reserve." "May the vision, O king," replied Artabanus, "which we have mutually "seen, succeed to both our wishes! For my "own part I am still so full of apprehensions, "as not at all to be master of myself: after "reflecting seriously on the subject, I discern "two important things, exceedingly hostile to "your views."

XLVIII. "What, my good friend, can these "two things possibly be?" replied Xerxes; "Do you think unfavourably of our land army, "as not being sufficiently numerous? Do you "imagine the Greeks will be able to collect one "more powerful? Can you conceive our fleet "inferior to that of our enemies?—or do both "these considerations together distress you? If "our force does not seem to you sufficiently effective, reinforcements may soon be provided."

XLIX. "No one, Sir," answered Artabanus, "in his proper senses, could object either to your

" army, or to the multitude of your fleet: should " you increase their number, the more hostile " would the two things be of which I speak; I " allude to the land and the sea. In case of " any sudden tempest, you will find no harbour, " as I conjecture, sufficiently capacious or con- " venient for the protection of your fleet; no " one port would answer this purpose, you must " have the whole extent of the continent; your " being without a resource of this kind, should " induce you to remember that fortune com- " mands men [49], and not men fortune. This is " one of the calamities which threaten you: I " will now explain the other; The land is also " your enemy; your meeting with no resistance " will render it more so, as you will be thus " seduced imperceptibly to advance; it is the " nature of man, never to be satisfied with suc- " cess: thus, having no enemy to encounter, " every moment of time, and addition to your

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[49] *Fortune commands men.*]—This sentiment is beautifully expressed in Ecclesiastes, ix. 11.

" I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all."

A moralist may perhaps be excused for adding, as a comment to the above, the simple but elegant line of Pope:

Chance is direction which thou canst not see. *T.*

" progress, will be gradually introductive of fa-
" mine. He therefore, who is truly wise, will
" as carefully deliberate about the possible event
" of things, as he will be bold and intrepid in
" action[50]."

L. Xerxes made this reply: "What you al-
" lege, Artabanus, is certainly reasonable; but
" you should not so much give way to fear, as
" to see every thing in the worst point of view: if
" in consulting upon any matter we were to be
" influenced by the consideration of every pos-
" sible contingency, we should execute nothing.
" It is better to submit to half of the evil which
" may be the result of any measure, than to re-
" main in inactivity from the fear of what may
" eventually occur. If you oppose such senti-
" ments as have been delivered, without inform-
" ing us what more proper conduct to pursue, you
" are not more deserving of praise than they are,
" whom you oppose. I am of opinion that no
" man is qualified to speak upon any subject
" with decision: they who are bold and enter-
" prising are more frequently successful, than they
" who are slow in their measures from extreme

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[50] *Intrepid in action.*]—Larcher quotes, as a parallel passage to this, these words from Sallust—Catilin. c. 1.

Prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est.

" deliberation. You are sensible to what a height " the power of Persia has arrived, which would " never have been the case, if my predecessors " had either been biassed by such sentiments as " yours, or listened to such advisers: it was " their contempt of danger which promoted their " country's glory, for great exploits are always " attended with proportionable danger[51]. We, " therefore, emulous of their reputation, have " selected the best season of the year for our " enterprize; and, having effectually conquered " Europe, we shall return without experience of " famine or any other calamity: we have with " us abundance of provisions, and the nations " among which we arrive will supply us with " corn, for they against whom we advance are " not shepherds, but husbandmen."

LI. " Since, Sir," returned Artabanus, " you " will suffer no mention to be made of fear, at

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[51] *Proportionable danger.*]—

The steep ascent must be with toil subdu'd;
Watchings and cares must win the lofty prize
Propos'd by heaven—true bliss, and real good.
Honour rewards the brave and bold alone,
She spurns the timorous, indolent, and base;
Danger and toil stand stern before her throne,
And guard, so Jove commands, the sacred place:
Who seeks her must the mighty cost sustain,
And pay the price of fame—labour, and care, and pain.

Choice of Hercules.

"least listen to my advice: where a number of "things are to be discussed, prolixity is unavoid- "able.—Cyrus, son of Cambyses, made all Ionia "tributary to Persia, Athens excepted; do not, "therefore, I entreat you, lead these men against "those, from whom they are immediately de- "scended: without the Ionians, we are more "than a sufficient match for our opponents. "They must either be most base, by assisting "to reduce the principal city of their country; "or, by contributing to its freedom, will do what "is most just. If they shall prove the former, "they can render us no material service; if the "latter, they may bring destruction on your army. "Remember, therefore, the truth of the ancient "proverb, When we commence a thing, we can- "not always tell how it will end[52]."

LII. "Artabanus," interrupted Xerxes, "your "suspicions of the fidelity of the Ionians must "be false and injurious; we have had sufficient

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[52] *Will end.*]—

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit deus,
Ridetque si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat, &c. *Hor.*

See also Pindar, in Olympiis:

Νυν δ' ελπομαι μεν, εν θεῳ γε παν τελος.

We may hope indeed, but the event is with God alone.—*T.*

" testimony of their constancy, as you yourself " must be convinced, as well as all those who " served under Darius against the Scythians. " It was in their power to save or to destroy all " the forces of Persia, but they preserved their " faith, their honour, and their gratitude; add " to this, they have left their wives, their chil- " dren, and their wealth, in our dominions, and " therefore dare not meditate any thing against " us. Indulge, therefore, no apprehensions, but " cheerfully watch over my family, and preserve " my authority: to you, I commit the exercise " of my power."

LIII. Xerxes after this interview dismissed Artabanus to Susa, and a second time called an assembly of the most illustrious Persians. As soon as they were met, he thus addressed them: " My motive, Persians, for thus convoking you, " is to entreat you to behave like men, and not " dishonour the many great exploits of our an- " cestors: let us individually and collectively ex- " ert ourselves. We are engaged in a common " cause; and I the rather call upon you to dis- " play your valour, because I understand we are " advancing against a warlike people, whom if we " overcome, no one will in future dare oppose us. " Let us, therefore, proceed, having first implored " the aid of the gods of Persia."

LIV. On the same day they prepared to pass

the bridge: the next morning, whilst they waited for the rising of the sun, they burned on the bridge all manner of perfumes, and strewed the way with branches of myrtle[53]. When the sun appeared, Xerxes poured into the sea a libation from a golden vessel, and then addressing the sun, he implored him to avert from the Persians every calamity, till they should totally have vanquished Europe, arriving at its extremest limits. Xerxes then threw the cup into the Hellespont, together with a golden goblet, and a Persian scymetar. I am not able to determine whether the king, by throwing these things into the Hellespont, intended to make an offering to the sun, or whether he wished thus to make compensation to the sea, for having formerly chastised it.

LV. When this was done, all the infantry and

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53 *Branches of myrtle.*]—The myrtle was with the ancients a very favourite plant, and always expressive of triumph and joy: the hero wore it as a mark of victory; the bridegroom on his bridal day; and friends presented each other with myrtle garlands in the conviviality of the banquet. Venus is said to have been adorned with it when Paris decided in her favour the prize of beauty, and that for this reason it was deemed odious to Juno and Minerva. It was probably from this reason, that when all other flowers and shrubs might be used in the festival of the Bona Dea at Rome, myrtle alone was excluded. See Rosinus. Harmodius and Aristogiton before mentioned, when they slew the Athenian tyrant, had their swords concealed beneath wreaths of myrtle; of which incident, as recorded in a fragment of Alcæus, Sir William Jones has made a happy use in his Poem to Liberty; I have already quoted the passage.—*T.*

the horse were made to pass over that part of the bridge which was toward the Euxine; over that to the Ægean, went the servants of the camp, and the beasts of burden. They were preceded by ten thousand Persians, having garlands on their heads; and these were followed by a promiscuous multitude of all nations;—these passed on the first day. The first who went over the next day were the knights, and they who trailed their spears; these also had garlands on their heads: next came the sacred horses, and the sacred car; afterwards Xerxes himself, who was followed by a body of spearmen, and a thousand horse. The remainder of the army closed the procession, and at the same time the fleet moved to the opposite shore: I have heard from some, that the king himself was the last who passed the bridge.

LVI. As soon as Xerxes had set foot in Europe, he saw his troops driven over the bridge by the force of blows; and seven whole days and as many nights were consumed in the passage of his army. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, an inhabitant of the country is said to have exclaimed: "Why, O Jupiter, under the appearance of a "Persian, and for the name of Jupiter taking "that of Xerxes, art thou come to distract "and persecute Greece? or why bring so vast a "multitude, when able to accomplish thy purpose "without them?"

LVII. When all were gone over, and were proceeding on their march, a wonderful prodigy appeared, which, though disregarded by Xerxes, had an obvious meaning—a mare brought forth a hare[54]: from this it might have been inferred, that Xerxes, who had led an army into Greece with much ostentation and insolence, should be involved in personal danger, and compelled to return with dishonour. Whilst yet at Sardis, he had seen another prodigy—a mule produced a young one, which had the marks of both sexes, those of the male being beneath.

LVIII. Neither of these incidents made any impression on his mind, and he continued to advance with his army by land, whilst his fleet, passing beyond the Hellespont, coasted along the shore in an opposite direction. The latter sailed toward the west, to the promontory of Sarpe-

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54 *Brought forth a hare.*]—In Julius Obsequens de Prodigiis, chap. xxxiii. p. 20, we have an account no less remarkable, L. Posthumio Albino, Sempronio Graccho Coss. mare arsit, ad Sinuessam *bos equuleum peperit.*

See also the same book on the subject of a mule's producing young.

Mula pariens, discordam civium, bonorum interitum mutationem legum, turpes matronarum partus significavit.—This was always deemed an unfortunate omen. See Pliny, book viii. c. 44. That mules never do produce young I have before observed.—*T.*

This story will probably excite a smile from the English reader, whom it will remind of Mary Tofts and her rabbits.

don, where they were commanded to remain; the former proceeded eastward through the Chersonese, having on their right the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas; on their left the city of Cardia. Moving onward, through the midst of a city called Agera, they turned aside to the gulph of Melana, and a river of the same name, the waters of which were not sufficient for the troops. Having passed this river, which gives its name to the above-mentioned gulph, they directed their march westward, and passing Ænos, a city of Æolia, and the lake Stertoris, they came to Doriscus.

LIX. Doriscus is on the coast, and is a spacious plain of Thrace, through which the great river Hebrus flows. Here was a royal fort called Doriscus, in which Darius, in his expedition against Scythia, had placed a Persian garrison. This appearing a proper place for the purpose, Xerxes gave orders to have his army here marshalled and numbered. The fleet being all arrived off the shore near Doriscus, their officers ranged them in order near where Salo, a Samothracian town[55], and Zena are situated. At the extremity of this shore is the celebrated pro-

[55] *Samothracian town.*]—See Bellanger's remarks on this passage, in his Essais de Critique, where with great humour he compliments our countryman Littlebury, for kindly making

montory of Serrium, which formerly belonged to the Ciconians. The crews having brought their vessels to shore[56], enjoyed an interval of repose, whilst Xerxes was drawing up his troops on the plain of Doriscus.

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his readers a present of two cities which never existed. Littlebury has rendered the passage thus:

"Xerxes commanded the sea captains to bring all their ships to the shore that lay nearest to Doriscus, where the cities of Sala, Samothracia, and Zena are situate, with another called Serrium, built upon a famous promontory formerly belonging to the Ciconians."

Voila, ce me semble (says Bellanger) deux villes à pur gain, Samothracia avec une autre appellée Serrium. C'est de quoi enrichir les grands dictionnaires géographiques.

I have studiously avoided pointing out any errors I may have discovered in Littlebury, from the fear of being thought invidious; I should not have done it in this instance, but that I wished to direct the reader to an excellent piece of criticism, which will at the same time reward his attention, and justify me.—*T.*

[56] *Vessels to shore.*]—As the vessels were not in those times so considerable as ours, they drew them on shore whenever they wanted to remain any time in one place. This custom, which we learn from Homer was in use in the time of the Trojan war, was also practised in the better ages of Greece. It is frequently mentioned by Xenophon, Thucydides, and other historians.—*Larcher.*

END OF VOL. III.

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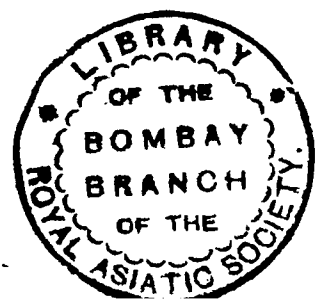
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